HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVIII, No. 21

Copyright 1968 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc.
May 25, 1968

35¢

Since LBJ Bombing Halt Order

Thousands of Red Troops Pouring Into South Viet Nam

By PAUL SCOTT

While U.S. negotiators are holding out hopes that preliminary talks in Paris will evolve into something more, the realities in Viet Nam offer little encouragement for this optimism.

Since the partial bombing halt was ordered on April 1 by President Johnson, the North Vietnamese have succeeded in reducing by two-thirds the time it takes to send military supplies and reinforcements into South Viet Nam from their main staging area in the north.

"U.S. Army units are now taking North Vietnamese prisoners who say it takes only 11 days now to travel by truck from the Hanoi-Haiphong area to Saigon," the latest U.S. intelligence estimate on enemy infiltration states.

"In the Ashan Valley, American units have captured North Vietnamese regulars who have been in the south only four days," the military report points out. "These enemy soldiers reveal that they were able to ride all the way from staging areas north of Hanoi without being bombed." This compares with from 30 to 45 days previously needed.

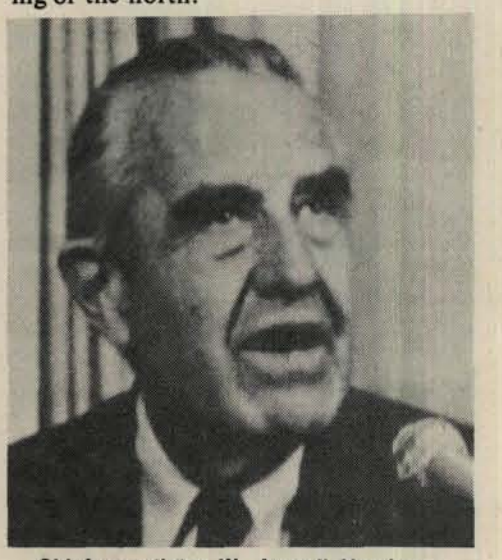
The south-bound traffic from North Viet Nam also has reached unprecedented proportions. Infiltration into South Viet Nam is currently four times the 6,000-man-a-month average of late 1967. An estimated 150,000 have gone into South Viet Nam or nearby sanctuaries in Cambodia and Laos since January 1.

This logistic speed-up, due in part to the bombing reduction, means that Hanoi now has the capability of launching major attacks against Saigon at least once every six weeks, according to U.S. military command in South Viet Nam.

Many of the North Vietnamese reinforcements in the south are supposedly being replaced in the north for the first time by regular Chinese Communist military units.

While nothing is being said about this in public, Administration officials are beginning to admit this ominous development in private. For example, Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently that Chinese Red anti-aircraft units are now operating in North Viet Nam.

American military officers in Saigon, confused and literally burned up by what they term the "phased cutback" of bombing raids over North Viet Nam, are adjusting their tactical operations to meet a complete halt in U.S. bombing of the north.



Chief negotiator W. Averell Harriman should have some pointed questions to ask his North Vietnamese counterparts.

These tactical operations include not only the aerial attacks up to the 19th parallel, but also the U.S. Navy's ship-to-shore bombardments which also will be halted soon.

In opposition to any further cutback in bombing, U.S. military officials in South Viet Nam have sent an urgent appeal to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for authority to begin hitting airfields above the 19th parallel.

North Viet Nam's army trucks hit the Ho Chi Minh trail—as they have been doing all along, while the North's infiltration of the South has increased at a rapid pace this year. Ironically, as the first round of talks began in Paris, U.S. combat deaths reached a new weekly high.

Pointing out the new build-up of North Vietnamese air power on these fields, these military officers have warned that Hanoi will soon be in a position to stage successful raids on U.S. bases in South Viet Nam unless immediate American counteraction is taken.

In addition to 30 MIG-21s, more than 15 medium-range Soviet-made jet bombers have been spotted on four airfields in North Viet Nam that the Reds have rebuilt since the President ordered all bombing north of the 19th parallel stopped. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have recommended that these airfields be hit. No final decision is expected until President Johnson determines whether Hanoi is prepared to enter full-scale peace talks.

Members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have told members of the House Armed Services Committee that they are mystified as to why President Johnson ordered the bombing cut back, rather than to seek to negotiate the cessation in exchange for some reciprocal act from the North Vietnamese before the Paris talks.

"If the President has some unknown ace up his sleeve," stated one of the members of the Joint Chiefs, "we have never been told about it. All we know is that the bombing cutback is putting American troops in Viet Nam in a dangerous position despite our present military superiority."

(Copyright 1968, Publishers-Hall Syndicate Inc.)

NEWSPAPER

Eugene Lyons

Will We See a Sell-Out in Paris?

Page 7

Richard Nixon

Why We Need 'Black Capitalism'

Page 12

John Chamberlain

Do Radical Students Read History?

Page 6

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944
Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)
James L. Wick (1897-1964)
Milton I. Wick, Publisher Emeritus

The Declaration of Independence begins: "When in the course of *Human Events*. . . ."

In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective; it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

Editor—Thomas S. Winter
Capitol Hill Editor—Allan H. Ryskind
Managing Editor—Robert F. Latham
Assistant Editor—Gary W. Russell
Editorial Researcher—Dawne Cina
Editorial Production—Ricky J. Lloyd
Contributing Editors—Terry Catchpole
M. Stanton Evans — Phillip Abbott Luce
Frederic Nelson — Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J.

★

Publisher—Robert D. Kephart
Assistant Publisher—Steven Bailey
Promotion Consultant—Patrick J. Gorman
Art Director—Jack Stricker
Shipping Manager—Ray McMurray

Address all subscription inquiries, complaints, address changes and other correspondence to Human Events, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. For address changes print your new address on a plain sheet of paper and attach a copy of the address label from a recent issue of Human Events.

Bound volumes, fully indexed. Any year, $20.00. Any five years $100.00.

1967 in 1 Volume — 1963 in 3 Volumes
1966 in 1 Volume — 1962 in 2 Volumes
1965 in 1 Volume — 1961 in 2 Volumes

Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Human Events cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Human Events*.

Human Events **is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).**

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N. Y. 10011.

LET YOUR EDITOR KNOW

Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendation and those of your friends may cause your local newspaper editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in HUMAN EVENTS are:

Holmes Alexander	Lawrence Fertig	James J. Kilpatrick	Raymond Moley	Donald I. Rogers
Allen-Scott Report	Paul Harvey	Russell Kirk	Edgar A. Mowrer	Morrie Ryskind
John Chamberlain	Henry Hazlitt	Irene Corbally Kuhn	Dr. Max Rafferty	Henry J. Taylor
Ralph de Toledano	Jenkin Lloyd Jones	Thomas A. Lane	William Rentschler	Walter Trohan
Willard Edwards	Howard Kershner	Victor Lasky	Victor Riesel	Alice Widener

CONTENTS

Politics '68 5
RFK's Participatory Democracy—By Raymond Moley 6
Don't Campus Radicals Read Any U.S. History?—By John Chamberlain 6
Glass Building Bureaucrats—From the Richmond News Leader 6
Sad History of U.S. Diplomacy Points to Sell-Out in Paris Talks—By Eugene Lyons 7
What Congress Should Have Told the President—By Henry Hazlitt 8
The Ripon Society Strikes Again—By Holmes Alexander 8
An Exclusive Interview with Viet Nam's President Thieu—By Charles W. Wiley 9
Can Dissenters Really Claim Thoreau?—By Fred De Armond 10
Reuther's Bill of Wrongs—From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat 10
Will Israel Be the Next Viet Nam?—By Irene Corbally Kuhn 11
Bridges to Human Dignity—By Richard M. Nixon 12
"Let 'em Eat Cake!"—By Morrie Ryskind 14
U.S. in Weak Talk Stance—By Edgar Ansel Mowrer 14
Spotlight on Congress 15

"So long as there are periodicals such as yours in this country we can still have hope that we might not end up in financial bankruptcy and our form of constitutional, representative government become destroyed."—N. M. Camardese, M. D., Norwalk, Ohio

HUMAN EVENTS SUBSCRIPTION FORM 5/25/68

Check the savings you prefer:

☐ 6 months (26 issues) $7.00.....YOU SAVE $2.10
☐ 1 year (52 issues) $12.50.....YOU SAVE $5.70
☐ 2 years (104 issues) $22.50.....YOU SAVE $13.90
☐ 1 year renewal plus 1 year gift $22.50.....YOU SAVE $13.90

(Over the single copy price)

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

My Name _____ (Please Print)
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____
☐ New ☐ Renewal

Gift Sub'n to _____ (Please Print)
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____
Sign gift card "_____"
☐ New ☐ Renewal

☐ Also send me ____ copies of the ____ (date) issue of HUMAN EVENTS. $.35 per issue (coins, please, not stamps); 4 copies $1; 9 for $2; 25 copies $5; 52 copies $10; 110 copies $20; 300 copies $50; 500 copies $75; 1,000 copies $140; lots of 5,000 or more, $120 per thousand.

MAIL TO: HUMAN EVENTS • 422 FIRST STREET, S.E. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

Capital Briefs

● Gov. Ronald Reagan has flatly denied assertions that he has made a "deal" with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller that will result in a **Rockefeller-Reagan presidential ticket.** "There is no truth to these columns and these rumors," said Reagan. "I have not discussed the vice presidency with Gov. Rockefeller or anyone representing him, or with any other candidate for President. I have made no deals and have no understanding, tacit or actual, with any presidential candidate regarding the vice presidency or any other political post or situation."

● Overlooked by the press last week: Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) tacked on a very important provision to that omnibus anti-crime bill now being debated before the Senate. Murphy's amendment would make any new director of the all-important **Federal Bureau of Investigation** subject to confirmation by the Senate. The Murphy provision—a measure backed by conservatives for years—passed 72 to 0.

● **Stokely Carmichael**, the apostle of Communist revolution and violence, was warmly greeted last week by officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference running the Poor People's March in Washington.

● Former Defense Secretary **Robert McNamara**, now holding the supposedly non-political post of World Bank president, will publish a book in August setting forth his view that the United States and the Soviet Union should take definite steps toward nuclear disarmament. McNamara, already the target of congressional criticism for his endorsement of presidential candidate Bobby Kennedy, told the New York Times that "I want to publish this book to obtain a wider expression of my views. . . . There are still some people who believe in the concept of nuclear superiority. But there is no such superiority any more and it should have become eminently clear by now that nuclear power alone does not project a nation's political will. . . ."

● Recently inaugurated Canadian Prime Minister **Pierre Elliott Trudeau** has proclaimed that Canada is ready to establish diplomatic ties with Red China "under suitable terms." Trudeau, who became active in politics only three years ago, explained that Peking had purchased large quantities of Canadian wheat over the past few years and for Canada not to extend official recognition in return was an "unsatisfactory" situation.

● Nelson Rockefeller has hired the advertising firm of **Jack Tinker & Partners** to handle his presidential campaign. During Rocky's 1966 gubernatorial campaign, the Tinker firm spent $4.8 million promoting their client.

● An influential member of the banking community has echoed the recent warning of Federal Reserve Board Chairman William Mc. Martin. Says **Rudolph A. Peterson,** head of the Bank of America: "We cannot fight what has become a major war, serve as the world's banker, rebuild our cities, cure environmental problems, render massive aid to foreign nations, dramatically upgrade the quality of our education, increase welfare programs and solve the racial problems all at once. Strong as our economy is, it is simply not that strong."

● Millionaire **Cyrus Eaton** has returned from four days in Havana, where he huddled with Fidel Castro. The 84-year-old Cleveland industrialist lavished praise on the very regime that has, ironically, expropriated his property.

● A prestigious group of long-time active supporters of the United Nations has organized a program aimed at establishing an educational fund for graduate school scholars and private institutions engaged in developing "research orientation on the problems of war prevention and worldwide welfare and justice." The **Fund for Education in World Order** hopes to raise at least $2 million for a two-year program aiding such existing groups as the U.N. Institute for Training and Research, the World Law Fund, and U.N. We Believe; it will also grant fellowships to students of international studies at such universities as Columbia, Duke, Howard, Michigan, Princeton and Yale. Among the fund's leaders are professional liberal Republican Arthur Larson, a one-time aide to President Eisenhower, and Harrison Salisbury, assistant managing editor of the New York Times.

● Latest bulletin from Fun City: A grand total of 796,822 New Yorkers are expected to receive some form of **public welfare assistance** in the current fiscal year. The figure is up 32,897 from a year ago, despite the heralded "successes" of Mayor John Lindsay.

● Economy-minded congressmen have raised their eyebrows over the curious request of Dr. James E. Banta, director of the office of international health for the Public Health Service. Dr. Banta recently told a House appropriations subcommittee that he wants federal funds to study the unusual variety of **fertility patterns in Yugoslavia.**

● Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) has accused the Johnson Administration of reneging on its pledge to cut back the **federal payroll** at the same time it seeks a 10 per cent tax hike. Noting LBJ's December 1965 promise to cut the federal payroll by 25,000, Williams says that Johnson has actually hired 179,868 new bureaucrats.

● Since the Korean War more than **100 new federal agencies and programs** have been created. And their budgets are soaring. Examples: The Food for Peace program, which cost $121 million when set up in 1956, now costs $1.7 billion a year; urban renewal, $145 million in 1956 to $499 in 1968; Space and Aeronautics, $89 million in 1958 to $4.8 billion in 1968; Peace Corps, $11 million in 1962 to $110 million in 1968; War on Poverty, $194 million in 1965 to $1.8 billion in 1968.

● Tourist guides in the Nation's Capital are referring to the Poor People's campsite in Washington as "**Insurrection City.**"

● Writing in the Chicago Daily News, correspondent Keyes Beech says that Hanoi has emerged the clear winner in the first round of the **U.S.-Hanoi peace talks.** Simply by agreeing to sit down and gab, Beech says, Hanoi has spared 90 per cent of its population and three-quarters of its territory from U.S. bombing.

● Latest celebrity to jump aboard the Kennedy for President bandwagon: underground film maker **Andy Warhol** who specializes in far-out "flicks" about sexual deviation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ball Denies Wiretap Set-Up, But...

George W. Ball, former under secretary of state, was confirmed by the Senate as ambassador to the United Nations last week, but the major controversy that developed over his nomination may not die down. Ball's appointment had initially seemed a routine thing, but all that changed when the reliable *Government Employees Exchange* printed the bombshell that Ball had once been in charge of a super-secret electronics espionage laboratory in the State Department used to tap the telephone conversations of both reporters and State Department employes.

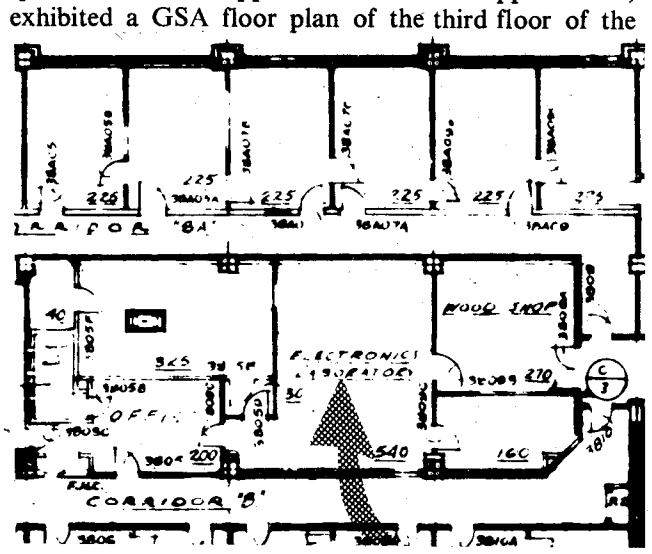
BALL

This laboratory, a former electronics specialist at the Central Intelligence Agency told the *Exchange*, carried out "systematic eavesdropping" on State Department officials and newspaper correspondents during the Kennedy and early Johnson Administrations. The ex-CIA official asserted that he had been personally consulted for professional assistance by Elmer Dewey Hill, who also had helped tap the phone of Otto Otepka at one stage of the "buggings."

This same source said a decision to institute widespread electronic eavesdropping at the State Department was taken at the White House when President Kennedy had become irritated because of information leaks to James Reston of the New York *Times* and Chalmers Roberts of the Washington *Post*. As a result of the bugging, department employes who "bad-mouthed" higher-ups or who revealed things to reporters embarrassing to the Administration were fired.

When Ball appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding his U.N. appointment, however, he blandly denied the existence of any such monitoring device. "There was none. There is none," said Ball.

Ball's flat denials were hard for a number of senators to swallow as evidence continued to contradict his assertions. Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), who spearheaded the opposition to Ball's appointment, exhibited a GSA floor plan of the third floor of the New State Department Building which pinpointed the location of the electronics laboratory. A memorandum prepared by the aforementioned ex-CIA official placed it in four rooms: 3805, 3808, 3809 and 3810.



Arrow indicates the secret electronics laboratory in the State Department building, the existence of which Ball denied. Diagram is taken from the GSA plan.

These four rooms plus an adjoining lecture room, the memo continued, collectively comprised an "island" in a "moat of corridors" completely surrounding the facility. Besides the protection of its "moat," the facility was further protected by a "drawbridge" which consisted of a locked door sealing it off entirely from corridor 8 of the third floor.

No one reportedly could enter over the "drawbridge" without a special pass issued only on instructions of the deputy assistant secretary of state for security, John W. Reilly.

Access to the "island" of the spy center, according to the memorandum, was even more rigidly controlled. Even security officers could not enter it. The laboratory was under the personal jurisdiction of Reilly and of Elmer Dewey Hill, his principal "electronics" expert. Clarence Jerome Schneider also had access to the laboratory.

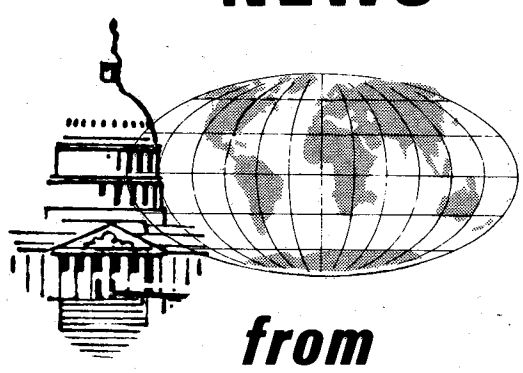
Interestingly enough, Reilly, Hill and Schneider were all involved in the bugging of Otto Otepka's office. Both Reilly and Hill resigned from the State Department in 1963 after senators had charged them with the possibility of "perjury" for denying knowledge of the Otepka tap. Their "clarification" letters to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee were drafted in the office of George W. Ball.

In late evening and early morning hours, the memo continues, Hill allowed CIA officers to enter the "island." In later 1962 and in 1963, the White House and the office of the attorney general requested the facility to carry out certain operations "they did not wish the FBI to monitor." Ball "fully . . . understood the use being made of the facility," said the memo.

Ball's denial that such a laboratory ever existed, in the face of detailed information to the contrary, including a floor plan designating its location, did not persuade the Senate to reject his appointment. But the whole story has aroused the interest of Capitol Hill and reporters from major newspapers, including the New York *Times*, have now demanded the State Department let them see the rooms which supposedly contain the eavesdropping laboratory.

The newsmen would like to determine if all their conversations are or were being secretly monitored. They would also like to discover, just for the historical record, if George Ball responded truthfully to questions put to him by the senators on the Foreign Relations Committee.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

ILWU Threatens Viet Strike

Left-wing labor leader Harry Bridges, president of the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), has threatened not to move supplies to our forces in Viet Nam should he become convinced that President Johnson isn't really trying to negotiate peace in Paris.

"We as a union with a long program of opposition to the war in Viet Nam," he was recently quoted by columnist Victor Riesel, "will watch developments closely. If there is any reneging in the promise to work toward peace, we should consider recommending to our members the calling of a special international rank-and-file conference to consider what we should do about it.

"To spell out one course of action," he said, "we could decide to respectfully notify the President that taking his pledge in good faith, we as a union will balk at helping supply any new forces to Viet Nam."

Bridges' ILWU could seriously hamper the war effort, since about 75 per cent of the loading of military cargo in the Southeast Asian and Pacific sealift is done by this union's 60,000 dockwallopers and warehousemen.

Bridges and his union have long followed the pro-Soviet line. The ILWU was expelled from the CIO in August 1950 on the ground that its policies were "consistently directed toward the achievement of the program and purposes of the Communist party. . . ."

Bridges, himself, has been identified by numerous congressional witnesses as having been a member of the Communist party, but he has denied such allegations. The *Daily Worker* on March 13, 1943, referred to him as the "West Coast Communist leader."

Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, reputed to be the union's braintrust, is a far-left-winger. Goldblatt told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee on July 30, 1957, that he was not a member of the CP, but refused to answer when asked if he had been a member in the past. The subcommittee a year later talked of "Goldblatt's continued allegiance to the Communist party line. . . ."

The ILWU's major publication, *The Dispatcher*, carries Communist propaganda in almost every issue. The latest edition (May 10) glorifies the Soviet Union and asserts at one point that the Russians have "no such thing as poverty, at least not as we know it" in the United States.

Because his union adheres so closely to the Red line, Bridge's threats to disrupt the docks are being taken quite seriously. If he implements his warning, Bridges would be the first labor leader to attempt to stop sending supplies to American troops on a fighting front.

Liberals Sabotage Crime Bill

Northern liberal Democrats—among them Senators Joseph Tydings (Md.), Teddy Kennedy (Mass.), Philip Hart (Mich.) and Edward Long (Mo.)—are preparing to lead a vigorous fight in the days ahead to strike down Title II of the Senate's omnibus crime bill.

This crucial section on confessions is considered by many legal experts to be the most important provision of the entire bill. Without its inclusion, it is being said, the crime bill will be virtually useless.

Basically the handiwork of Senators John McClellan (D.-Ark.) and Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), Title II would restore the traditional right of the people to have their prosecuting attorneys place voluntary confessions in evidence before juries. Such confessions have been virtually eliminated from trial evidence because of a disastrous series of Supreme Court decisions, including *Mallory, Miranda* and *Escobeda.*

This same title would also prevent the federal courts from reversing state court decisions based on a confession that the highest state court had determined was voluntary.

Liberals are all up in arms because they contend these provisions amount to an attack on their revered Supreme Court. But the supporters of Title II stress there is nothing sacred about the High Court and that Congress is only exercising its constitutional powers. Article III of the Constitution, they point out, provides that the Supreme Court "shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make," and Article I gives Congress the power to establish an inferior system of courts.

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), who is floor leader for the crime bill, says the statistical evidence also reveals that the Supreme Court's decisions on crime must be reversed if the United States is not to be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come a lawless society.

He cited the following cases which he said were typical of what the Supreme Court's rulings have meant:

• In November 1965, in Brooklyn, N.Y., a mother killed her four-year-old child. She taped his mouth and hands and beat him with a rubber hose and a broomstick. When the police arrived the tape had been removed, but the child was dead. And, of course, there were no witnesses except the mother. She made a confession which was not coerced from her and which was not repudiated. But she had not been told that she need not make a statement and that she was entitled to have a lawyer sitting beside her when questioned. The trial judge had no choice under the *Miranda* decision but to dismiss the indictment.

• In 1960 James Killough strangled his wife, Goldie, and buried her at a Washington, D.C., city dump. Because of strongly suspicious circumstances surrounding Goldie's disappearance, Killough was questioned at some length, finally confessed and led police to his wife's body. But the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, basing its decision on the Supreme Court's *Mallory* case, reversed his conviction and held that the first confession made by him was inadmissible because of the delay in arraignment. Killough was tried two more times, but he's free today because the courts finally ruled that his confession was obtained illegally.

• The New York *Times* of Feb. 21, 1967, revealed that a man who admitted slaying his wife and five small children walked out of a Brooklyn courtroom free because "the only available evidence against him was his own confession."

Said McClellan: "The foregoing cases are but samples of what is happening all over the country as a direct result of strained and unjust decisions by a bare majority of one on the Supreme Court. . . . This situation will continue—even worsen—so long as confusion and uncertainty over the admissibility of voluntary confessions and admissions exist in our judicial system."

Prosecuting attorneys, said McClellan, were particularly hobbled by the June 1966 *Miranda* decision. In that case, the court in a 5-to-4 decision formulated a new code of rules for police interrogation of criminal suspects. The decision provides that no confession—even if wholly voluntary in the traditional sense—can be admitted in evidence in a state or federal criminal proceeding unless the prosecution can prove that a fourfold warning of his rights was given to the suspect in custody before he was questioned.

Under this decision, the prosecution also has the burden of proving that the suspect waived these rights by some affirmative statement and that such waiver continued in force throughout the entire questioning period.

Aaron Koota, district attorney for Kings County, N.Y., conducted a survey indicating that prior to *Miranda* approximately 90 per cent of the suspects involved in serious crimes made statements of confessions to police. After *Miranda*, only 49 per cent made statements of confessions.

Charles E. Moylan Jr., state's attorney for the city of Baltimore, Md., reported:

"We used to get . . . [confessions] in 20 to 25 per cent of our cases and now we are getting them . . . in 2 per cent of our cases. The confession as a law-enforcement instrument has been virtually eliminated."

Title II would reverse this trend, but the liberals are apparently intent on eliminating this section from the crime bill.

Powell Prosecution Stalled

LBJ is sitting on a politically explosive proposal by his own Justice Department to take action against former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) for misuse of federal funds. The decision to prosecute was made over a month ago by Asst. Atty. Gen. Fred M. Vinson, following an investigation by a squad of FBI agents and a federal grand jury.

As head of the department's Criminal Division, Vinson recommended Powell be brought to trial on a series of charges, including misappropriation of funds involving a federal salary paid his wife; misuse of funds for unauthorized travel and other purposes; and income tax allegations.

This information was submitted to Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, who took the matter directly to President Johnson. But LBJ has so far refused to give the okay to go after the former Harlem congressman.

Last month Powell announced he would again seek election to Congress as a Democrat. He intimated, however, he was still unsure as to whom he would support for President. Veteran observers recall that in 1952, when a possible tax case was pending against him in the Justice Department, Powell suddenly declared for Gen. Eisenhower, the GOP standard bearer. Subsequent to Ike's election, the Justice Department dropped the case. Powell, it is said, hopes to repeat his 1952 experience.

The Hart-Rustin Smear

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.) and civil rights strategist Bayard Rustin have come under critical fire for having co-signed a controversial fund-raising letter for Democratic congressmen who belong to the radical Democratic Study Group in the House.

HART

Comprised of far-out liberals such as John Conyers (Mich.), a member of the pro-Communist National Lawyers Guild, ADA Vice Chairman Don Edwards (Calif.) and William Fitts Ryan (N.Y.), a veteran HCUA opponent, the DSG has been a prime force in recent years in steamrolling liberal legislation through Congress.

In pleading the DSG cause, the Hart-Rustin letter has infuriated Republican solons with its charge of racism against the GOP. Says the missive:

"To the 150 liberal Democrats still in the House, the need for action to meet our domestic crisis is a matter of both urgent conviction and grim political survival. Unless these committed House liberals can be saved and their numbers increased so as to really make possible 'massive and sustained' action in employment, housing, education and training, the political and social fabric of our nation could be ripped beyond recognition—and perhaps even beyond enduring for decent people. . . .

"The right wing already is raising millions of dollars in mail campaigns subtly appealing to racism in the guise of concern about 'crime in the streets.' This is being done not only on behalf of identifiable extremists, but for hundreds of apparently 'respectable' Republican candidates. And they are eliciting a powerful response from elements in society who far from being appalled at the prospect of an American apartheid, are actually—if covertly—delighted by it."

Republican lawmakers are burning at what they consider the downright dishonesty of Hart and Rustin for trying to pin the racist label on the Republican party. If law and order and crime in the streets are code words of the racists, then, it is pointed out, liberal Democrat Robert Kennedy was running a "racist" campaign in Indiana.

The party that has historically harbored the greatest number of real "racists" is indisputably the Democratic party. Certainly most of the members of the Ku Klux Klan are Democrats and it was Georgia's Democratic governor, Lester Maddox, who ran Negroes out of his private restaurant with axe handles. Even the Johnson Administration—just this year—was caught lavishing funds on Klan characters in Atlanta, Ga., including then Chief Dragon Calvin Craig, who has since resigned from the Klan.

The Democratic party's anti-poverty program, with deliberation, has also funded black racists and anti-Semites such as poet LeRoi Jones. If Hart and Rustin, a convicted sex offender who also served time in a federal prison for Selective Service violation, are really opposed to racism, it is asked, then why don't they also focus on those racists within the Democratic party?

LBJ to Unionize Gov't Employes?

Gathering momentum in both the Senate and the House is legislation to block a possible executive order from the White House to force all federal employes to join governmental unions or make them pay the equivalent of union dues.

The AFL-CIO has been pressing LBJ to issue such an order for some time. A still-secret report by a Labor-Management-Review Commission, headed by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, is believed to have made a similar recommendation to the President, though it may be in the process of being "excised" because of the pressure felt from the National Right-to-Work Committee's grass-roots campaign against any such proposal.

To block the government from implementing any form of compulsory unionism for its employes, Sen. Wallace Bennett (R.-Utah) has introduced a "right-to-work" bill for federal employes. Initial co-sponsors of S. 3843, which is now before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, include Senators Howard Baker (R.-Tenn.), Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.), Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), James Eastland (D.-Miss.), Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.), Bourke Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa) and Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.). Others will unquestionably get into the act.

Several House members, under the leadership of Rep. Blackburn (R.-Ga.), are planning to introduce legislation similar to Bennett's this week.

Even if Johnson doesn't issue any order at this time to compel non-union employes to fork over funds to union coffers, the importance of the Bennett and Blackburn bills was underscored when government agency lawyers acknowledged that they had come up with a "plan whereby . . . it would be legal to require non-union members to pay a 'service charge' to unions on the grounds that all employes are benefited in agencies where unions have exclusive recognition." Readers should press their representatives to pass the Bennett-Blackburn bills in this session of Congress.

Hoover's Warning

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has told Congress that well-organized black nationalists pose an increasing threat to national security. Testifying behind closed doors on Capitol Hill, Hoover reported that followers of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown are stockpiling arms throughout the country. Their aim, said Hoover, is violent revolution.

HOOVER

Hoover also disclosed that the Communist Party, U.S.A., had stepped up its activities on the racial front. The party, said Hoover, hopes to link the civil rights and peace campaigns into "one massive movement" that can alter "government policies, both foreign and domestic."

The FBI director revealed that the party has deeply infiltrated the so-called New Left, including Students for a Democratic Society. Hoover quoted Gus Hall as saying that SDS is part of the "responsible left" which the party has "going for us."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICS '68

BYRD BOOMLET

Southern Democratic lawmakers, many of whom find Bobby, Hubert and Gene far too radical, are thinking of launching a presidential boomlet for Sen. **Robert C. Byrd** (D.-W.Va.). Some "name" senators, including **Albert Gore** (D.-Tenn.), have indicated they would rally behind Byrd and a number of Southern politicians operating on a state level are known to be favorable to the West Virginian.

Byrd is a big-spending liberal most of the time, but he has voted conservatively on such issues as **welfare, anti-communism** and **law and order.**

Entering politics as a two-fisted whisky drinker and a member of the Ku Klux Klan, Byrd later gave up both to become one of the **hardest workers in the Senate.** While spending his days representing the voters, he earned a law degree from American University at night.

Attracting national attention three years ago when he conducted a hard-hitting investigation into public welfare programs in the District of Columbia, Byrd has become a powerful senatorial figure. He is on the Appropriations Committee and Armed Services Committee and last year he bested Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) for the post of secretary of the all-important **Senate Democrat Conference.**

If Byrd decides to jump into the race—and insiders say he is seriously thinking of it—he would considerably damage the chances of **Hubert Humphrey**, who is now counting on Southern support to put him over the top at the Democratic convention.

OHIO

Overlooked by the press in the recent Ohio primary is the fact that Gov. **James A. Rhodes,** who is promoting Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for President, suffered a stinging defeat in the Buckeye States's 17th Congressional District.

RHODES

While Rhodes put up a slate of delegates pledged to him as Ohio's favorite-son candidate, Republican voters in the 17th decided to elect a delegate slate pledged to their own congressman, Rep. **John Ashbrook.** The apparent reason: Ashbrook was foursquare against the nomination of Rockefeller on the GOP ticket.

Before the election of delegates, the Ohio congressman, who heads the American Conservative Union, accused Rhodes of maneuvering to toss the support of Ohio's **58-member delegation** to Rocky at the national convention in August. Miffed at Ashbrook's opposition, the governor thereupon refused to allow the Ohio congressman to run as a "Rhodes" delegate.

Ashbrook then entered a slate of delegates pledged to himself and won. Official figures released by the Ohio secretary of state showed that Ashbrook and **Charles Cole** (also pro-Ashbrook) were elected as delegates, with Ashbrook receiving a thumping 32,583 votes, more than the combined total of the two candidates favoring Rhodes. Two alternate candidates loyal to Ashbrook—**Taliesin E. Evans** and **Lindsey W. Williams**—also defeated two alternate candidates for Rhodes.

Rhodes has so far remained mum about Ashbrook's astonishing victory. Ashbrook, himself, says he has been assured by at least 15 Ohio delegates that they favor former Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** and by two others that they favor Gov. **Ronald Reagan.** He estimates that no more than 15 of the 58 elected delegates are for Rocky. But Ohio delegates, he claims, will find it difficult to buck Rhodes without someone to lead the fight against Rockefeller.

To counter the Ohio governor, Ashbrook says he will demand that the Ohio delegation be publicly polled on the convention floor if Rhodes attempts to bind it, by a caucus vote, to the **New York governor.**

NEBRASKA

Bobby Kennedy was the big winner and **Nelson Rockefeller** the big loser in last week's Nebraska primary. Kennedy edged over the magic 50 per cent mark as he outdistanced Eugene McCarthy, Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson.

ROCKEFELLER

McCarthy drew a disappointing 31 per cent and Johnson a scant 6 per cent. Humphrey, who was not on the ballot, received scattered write-ins totalling 9 per cent.

Kennedy, who campaigned energetically and spent lavishly, ran well throughout the state. He received more than 85 per cent of the **Negro vote,** scored well in the **blue-collar ethnic areas** and ran surprisingly well in the **farm belt.**

McCarthy, a Midwesterner who had criticized several of Kennedy's farm votes, had expected to capture the rural vote. But Kennedy took 80 of the state's 86 rural counties, frequently by 2 to 1 and more.

On the Republican side, **Richard Nixon** piled up 70 per cent of the vote, with Gov. **Ronald Reagan** gathering an impressive 22 per cent. Both were on the ballot. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who has never done well in Nebraska, drew a write-in of only 5 per cent, despite some organized campaigning by his backers. Rocky, however, managed to triumph over his 1964 performance, when he drew only 1.7 per cent of the vote.

Reagan's showing was excellent, but not quite as startling as the liberal pundits were claiming. Nebraska has always treated **conservative Republicans** handsomely; in the 1964 primary, Barry Goldwater won 49.5 per cent of the Republican vote while Richard Nixon was polling 42,811 write-ins. Reagan's backers also waged an effective campaign on the governor's behalf, blitzing the Omaha television stations with Reagan film clips in the few days before the primary balloting.

Together, Nixon and Reagan received almost **19 of every 20 GOP ballots,** demonstrating that Rockefeller's "progressive Republicanism" is something less than the drawing card his supporters would maintain.

OREGON

With a hefty 22 per cent vote in the Nebraska primary under their belts, the forces backing the as-yet-undeclared presidential candidacy of California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** move on to the next round, Oregon's free-for-all **May 28 primary.** Here the Reagan people plan to spend **more money** and have a **better organization** than they had in Nebraska, and here again Richard Nixon faces a potent challenge to his Republican candidacy. Most observers expect Reagan to get a good 30 per cent of the vote.

Putting the Oregon race into context, it must be remembered that the state's history shows it is by no means a "traditional" Republican area: many of the GOP officials who have been elected in the past two decades have been of the **"maverick" variety.** Oregon voters elected Sen. **Wayne Morse** in 1944 as a Republican (he later switched to "Independent," then Democrat) and they are presently represented in the Senate by a GOP lawmaker, former Gov. **Mark Hatfield,** who says he will support a Democrat for President in 1968 if the GOP nominee endorses LBJ's Viet Nam policy.

Oregon's primary law insists that all prominently mentioned presidential candidates be on the ballot and, like Nebraska, Reagan refused to have his name removed (although Nelson Rockefeller did). Taking this as their cue, Oregon Reaganites have invested heavily in **television time,** running half-hour film biographies, speech excerpts and shorter plugs and have opened 16 Reagan-for-President headquarters across the state. Over all, it is estimated that the Californian's supporters will spend up to **$300,000 in the Oregon campaign;** Reagan forces in the state, however, deny that this estimate is correct and claim that $100,000 is a much more accurate figure.

Although Rockefeller's name will not appear on the ballot, the state has proved friendly to him (it was the only state primary Rocky won in '64) and the **New York governor** certainly poses an additional threat to Nixon. Some Rockefeller state leaders disclaim any intention of mounting a write-in effort for their man, but Gov. **Tom McCall,** a diehard Rocky man, has admitted repeatedly he would write in Rockefeller's name and expected "substantial" numbers of others to do the same.

Nixon organizers, meanwhile, have rounded up grass-roots support in all of Oregon's 36 counties, putting a chairman in each and have set up an active "Neighbors for Nixon" cadre of volunteers; they may spend as high as $300,000. In 1964 Nixon received 17 per cent of the primary vote as a write-in candidate, while Rockefeller was winning.

On the Democratic side of the contest, Oregon could spell curtains for **Eugene McCarthy's "magical mystery tour"** that began in New Hampshire. If Bobby Kennedy again receives a majority vote, or if McCarthy cannot improve on his 32 per cent Nebraska vote, his campaign manpower and monetary reserves could dry up completely; there is, however, reportedly much more enthusiasm and activity on McCarthy's behalf in Oregon than there was in Nebraska and Indiana. Because of his tardy withdrawal, **LBJ's name** will appear on the Oregon ballot, while **Hubert Humphrey** is listed as the only vice presidential candidate.

MARYLAND

The mere thought of a possible "third-man theme" in the Maryland Senate race this year is sending the state's comfortable liberal Democrats and Republicans into a frenzy. Previously the contest has consisted of a tweedledum-tweedledee dialogue between Democrat Sen. **Daniel Brewster** and liberal GOP Rep. **Charles McC. Mathias,** but now maverick politico **George Mahoney** is attempting to mix things up a bit by entering as an Independent senatorial aspirant.

Mathias, Brewster and every other Maryland political observer are well aware that the unpredictable Mahoney won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1966 by virtue of his opposition to **open housing** in a primary race in which the two liberal "favorites" cancelled out each other's votes. And, while Mahoney eventually lost in '66 to Republican **Spiro Agnew,** his Independent status in this year's run for the Senate could produce the same circumstances which led to his primary victory in 1966.

Mahoney, after countless tries for state office, gained his success in '66 on a platform which had as its theme the now famed slogan, "Your Home Is Your Castle—Keep It That Way," was promptly branded by opponents as a "racist." Now Mahoney claims open housing is a **"dead" issue** and, in fact, says he has no argument with the recently passed federal housing statute, as it exempts an individual homeowner if he sells his house without the aid of a realtor.

Nevertheless, Maryland liberals say, "the voters know where [Mahoney] stands, no matter what he says" and fully expect him to attract a "**white backlash**" vote if he gets on the ballot. (At one point Mahoney was rumored to be planning to tie an Independent Senate challenge with the third-party presidential bid of **George Wallace,** but Mahoney quickly scotched this report.)

Before Mahoney can gain a ballot position he must collect **41,902 signatures** on his petition. As he goes about this autograph-hunting, Mathias and Brewster watch in anticipation and nervously reassess their liberal positions in this volatile year.

CAPSULES

• New York Republican Sen. **Jacob Javits** has decided to vie for the Liberal party's backing in his 1968 re-election attempt by entering the **June 18 primary.** If Javits wins the Liberal primary race, he would be the first statewide GOP candidate ever to hold support from the state's 24-year-old, left-wing third party. Javits won the backing of 66 per cent of the Liberal party's state committee members, but because long-time party leader Murray Baron, with support from the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, received 29 per cent of the vote, Javits must take on Baron in the primary to secure the nomination in his try for a third Senate term. Javits is unopposed for the Republican senatorial nomination. **James L. Buckley,** brother of editor-columnist William F. Jr., is the Conservative party nominee for the Senate seat.

• Former Rep. **Abner Sibal** has announced he will challenge another ex-congressman, **Edwin May,** for the Connecticut Republican nomination to unseat one-term incumbent Democrat **Abraham Ribicoff.** Sibal and May, who is also a former state GOP chairman, are both considered liberal Republicans. They will first wage their battle on the floor of the state GOP's June convention; the loser in this nomination fight may then challenge the victor in an August primary if he receives at least 20 per cent of the convention delegate votes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Local Control Perverted

RFK's Participatory Democracy

By RAYMOND MOLEY

Columbia, S.C.—The humiliation of Columbia University by hoodlums—some of whom were students and some, like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, lawless revolutionists—is a very good example of a concept called "participatory democracy." That is a slogan apparently coined by the New Left. It involves a concept which is explicit in some and implicit in all of Sen. Robert Kennedy's more serious—I cannot say more thoughtful—speeches.

That fancy phrase was the key to the Students for a Democratic Society's Port Huron manifesto in 1952. As is characteristic of the statements of so many half-baked intellectuals, that manifesto was full of 10-dollar words and phrases. The objective is "decentralization" or "decision making of basic social consequence carried on by public groupings" —those groups being concerned with education, housing, job production and even "police brutality."

The point is to demand real power by private groups instead of by legally constituted public servants.

Under this plan of setting up a new decentralized civilization are a number of SDS specifics:

"Local, regional and national economic planning"; "a welfare state—everyone's welfare according to need"; public corporations to supplant private business; international systems of education; "universal controlled disarmament" under the United Nations, "and the gradual transfer of sovereignties . . . to such machinery."

We have seen some of this in our great cities. There the people in the local communities have demanded that federal funds for welfare be administered by the beneficiaries, selection of teachers and principals and the making of curricula by parents, civilian boards to control the police, and in colleges and universities demands of students to take over decision-making from trustees and administrators.

Ideas of the New Left get into Kennedy speeches, according to commentators Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, through Pete Hamil, "a radical young journalist and novelist," and Jack Newfield, a leading spirit in the New Left.

And so Kennedy said at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, "We must return local control to the people themselves. In the last analysis it should be in the cities and towns and villages where the decisions are made, not in Washington."

At Brigham Young University he called for "a new kind of program which places money directly into communities, instead of flowing through an inefficient, overstructured, often tyrannical bureaucracy."

In Los Angeles Kennedy told Negroes, "I want the control over your destinies to be decided by the people in Watts, not by those of us who are in Washington."

So this is "participatory democracy." And we have seen it in action at Columbia University. Three or four hundred students, black and white, entered and occupied five vital buildings where undergraduate and graduate classes meet and where administrative and faculty offices are located. A squad also occupied and held the president's office where once the great Nicholas Murray Butler and former President Dwight Eisenhower held sway. Thus these storm troopers seized the vital spots where the university's government operates much as revolutions in Europe have successfully overthrown governments.

And the negotiations which followed were marked by the endless delaying procedures which are marking the effort of the United States to talk terms with Hanoi. For a long time mediation by faculty committees failed because of the demands of the rebels.

The news of these events which reached me here, hundreds of miles from Morningside Heights, was food for some sad reflections. I held the title of professor of public law there for 25 years. The very department of which I was a member was founded by a great student of the Constitution, John W. Burgess. He taught that our constitutional system was at once a pattern of law and a guarantee of liberty. And that there could be no liberty without law.

But "participatory democracy" rejects law and destroys liberty. And it isn't even democracy when a few hundred students deny the rights of 10,000 who are trying to get an education.

By coincidence there was published in the local newspaper which told of the disgraceful events at Columbia University a tribute to the great German-born liberal Francis Lieber who taught at South Carolina College before the Civil War. He went from there to Columbia College in New York and is honored there by a professorship named for him. As a graduate student I studied political philosophy with the Lieber professor at Columbia. In his writings there is a reminder to all of the danger in the doctrines of such demagogues as Robert Kennedy:

"The true Republican wants no absolutism of any sort—none to practice on others, and none to practice on himself."

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

□□□

Glass Building Bureaucrats

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Many persons, convinced that the United Nations doesn't do anything except spin its wheels, understandably are confused as to why the United States needs a 126-man U.N. mission in New York to help the U.N. do nothing. Reflecting that attitude, Congress last year lopped $110,000 from the mission's $1.7-million budget.

Travel expenses have been cut in half; telephone call allotments reduced. Saturday mail operations have been eliminated, and regular postage expenses restricted. Shifts have been rearranged. And most drastic of all, a freeze has been put on entertainment funds.

Are the employes upset? Not much. Their salaries, which together total $1.3 million, haven't been touched. Nor has the staff been touched. Nor has the staff been reduced. So in effect, members of the American mission are getting the same salary to do less work which amounted to almost nothing to begin with.

Thereby, the American mission staff provides a unique variation on the aphorism that people in glass houses shouldn't throw stones: American diplomatic personnel in glass buildings shouldn't do anything.

J. Michael Nichols, vice president of the Columbia University undergraduate Student Council, calls for the resignation of university president Dr. Grayson Kirk, during last week's disorders at the New York City institution. Such campus antics are becoming commonplace.

Don't Campus Radicals Read Any U.S. History?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

My colleague, Bob Considine, asked a student at the University of California in Berkeley for "an outline of the thinking of today's student." He got this for an answer: "The difference between us is that when you were about our age you went to college because that was the only way you could get a decent job in business. . . . We want to serve some useful purpose in life; you wanted to work at IBM."

Excuse me. The trouble with Bob's informant is that he is obviously completely ignorant of American history. For example, he doesn't know what was going on at Columbia University in the '30s, when Jim Wechsler, now the editorial page director of the New York *Post*, was busy gathering the material that went into his book, *Revolt on the Campus*. The Wechsler generation, as I learned in the course of writing a comprehensive article at the time for *Fortune* magazine, was about as anti-business as they come. This might be written off as something peculiar that was born of the Depression, but, actually, it differed very little from the campus attitude of the 1920s, when I was in college.

The more intellectual of the 1920-30 undergraduates who wrote for the college publications were all for doing anything that would preserve them from the life of a bond salesman or banker. Going back to the decade of World War I, the same attitude held. And even in the early 1900s students were revolting against the "Establishment."

Has Considine's informant ever heard of Jack London, who started an intercollegiate Socialist society in Teddy Roosevelt's time that eventually became the League for Industrial Democracy, from which the present-day Students for a Democratic Society split off a few years ago?

Has he ever heard of the pre-World War I anti-business cult at Harvard, a college that sent Walter Lippmann from his Cambridge Socialist cloister to enter "real life" as the secretary to the Socialist mayor of Schenectady?

Has he ever heard of Jack Reed, another Harvard boy who, far from working at IBM, went to Russia and now lies buried in the shadow of the Kremlin?

In the mid-'20s, at Ivy League Yale, we scorned business. We read Mencken if not Marx, and baited Babbitt to prove our orthodoxy. A sure way of getting an essay into the local literary magazine was to attack the economics department for teaching the theory of laissez faire.

Those were the years when Dwight MacDonald, now Norman Mailer's brother-in-arms in assailing the evil machinations of the Pentagon, was making his radical campus bow. (I was on the Lit. board that accepted Dwight's first story, so you can blame me for him. The difference between Dwight and the rest of us is that he stayed put in his anti-business mold.)

What depresses me about the present undergraduate generation—or the vocal part thereof—is that it is repeating a history that is at least as old as the 20th Century. When has there been a college generation within living memory that hasn't enjoyed baiting IBM? Bob Considine's informant, repeating history because he doesn't know anything about history, is old hat, *vieux jeu*, traditional as the oldest elm on the oldest campus, and as complete a repository of the "conventional wisdom" as you would be likely to find. Talk about unoriginal minds!

In the dreadfully cyclic way in which history operates, 1968 touches hands intimately with 1912 and before, when the Wobblies were ganging up on cops and overrunning the jails, when Upton Sinclair and Jack London were telling students that the "revolution" was imminent, when Ernest Poole was writing novels about radical takeover on the New York waterfront, when poets such as Max Eastman and Floyd Dell were discovering Marxism. But the 1968 student, as exemplified by Bob Considine's informant, differs from student radicals of the past in his innocence of everything that went before him.

Why go to college if you don't want to learn what has happened before you were born? The real objection to the current crop of campus insurrectionists is not that they are touching hands with 1912, but that they are repeating 1912 without the least idea that they are as conventionally unconventional as their grandfathers.

A revolution, to be fruitful, must issue from minds that know something about the past in order to make distinctions that will be useful in the future. A mindless revolution will get nowhere except to create a chaos, in which the more planful revolutionists will take over and put the student anarchists in jail.

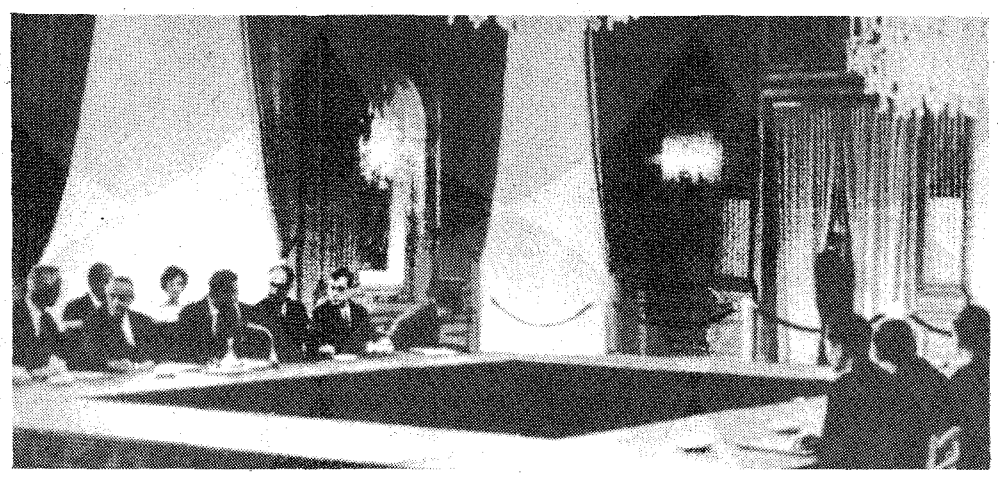
(Copyright 1968, King Features Synd.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sad History of U.S. Diplomacy Points to Sell-Out in Paris Talks

By EUGENE LYONS

(Mr. Lyons, at present a senior editor for the Reader's Digest, *served as United Press correspondent in Moscow for six years, 1928 to 1934. He is the author of an array of books on Soviet Russia and world communism, the latest one being* Workers' Paradise Lost, *a balance sheet of 50 years of Soviet communism.)*



U.S. and North Vietnamese delegations face each other at Paris conference table.

The vast American investment of life and treasure in South Viet Nam, which assuredly will grow vaster as talks with the enemy proceed, could be cancelled out through a camouflaged surrender to the Communists in Paris.

President Johnson has given assurances that this will not happen. In announcing sharp limitation of bombing and his own renunciation of a second full term in the White House, he pledged that "the United States will never accept a fake solution to this long and arduous struggle and call it peace."

The kind of settlement he was ruling out as "fake," of course, is an American agreement to include Communists in a government for South Viet Nam. Experience with such coalitions, from China before to Eastern Europe after World War II, is a guarantee that they amount to a postponed Communist takeover.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk was more explicit than the President in affirming that America has learned this lesson. Speaking to SEATO associates in New Zealand, he emphasized that coalition and neutralization are unacceptable to the United States.

But the fear, even the glum conviction, that they will be accepted in Paris notwithstanding has spread a pall of gloom in Saigon and in capitals of its Asian and Pacific allies from South Korea to Australia. The free Asian nations are decidedly not reassured.

The sad history of American diplomatic defeats at the conference table after total victories on the battlefield holds little encouragement for negotiations in the midst of a continuing and stalemated war.

Thanat Khoman, foreign minister of Thailand—the country that would be most directly imperiled by an American retreat—has said it bluntly: "Viet Nam will be forsaken the same way as Laos." The fact that the chief American architect of the Laotian disaster, Averell Harriman, heads up the U.S. delegation in Paris gives point to the reaction in Bangkok. His selection is hardly calculated to reassure Asian skeptics.

On arriving in Paris, the second-ranking North Viet Nam delegate, Col. Ha Van Lao, smilingly told reporters: "I am confident." Though he did not elaborate on it, his cheerfulness is no enigma. The Communists are certain that they are talking from a position of strength and have the President's head —what they call his "abdication"—as a trophy to prove it.

It is fair to assume that Hanoi foresees, at the least, American consent to some formula of coalition or neutralization. And that, no matter how artfully disguised to save face for Washington, would be a humiliating defeat for the United States.

Hanoi's optimism is the other side of the coin of Saigon's or Bangkok's pessimism. Communists, who understand only the logic of force, have long interpreted American restraint—the failure of a supreme military nation to use its power quickly and decisively—as evidence of "liberal decadence." They regard the unilateral American de-escalation, accompanied by Johnson's "abdication," as proofs of weakness and fatigue.

Moreover, they feel that they have inestimably valuable allies inside the United States. Everyone is aware that in Paris our government will be fighting exhausting battles on two fronts. It will face the intransigence of Hanoi, marked by what *Time* magazine called "well-rehearsed tantrums and tirades, dramatic walkouts and magnanimous walk-ins."

At the same time it will be subjected to harrowing, know-nothing attacks by the forces of appeasement at home. In a confrontation in which only patience and strong nerves can head off a humiliating surrender, the American negotiators will be under relentless pressures to yield on "small" issues which add up to large retreats.

The month-long haggling about a site for preliminary talks provided an ominous preview in this connection. Failing to recognize the crucial test of firmness involved, assorted doves and political opportunists were quick to blame Johnson rather than Ho Chi Minh for the impasse.

Sen. J. William Fulbright urged that we quit "quibbling" and settle for Warsaw. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy cast equivalent advice in humanitarian terms, arguing that the delay is costing American lives. He ignored the reality that under Communist talk-and-fight techniques the enemy would intensify its war operations in any case.

Fortunately the President held firm against the winds of abuse and in due time Hanoi removed the roadblock. But Johnson, already under colossal psychological pressures from peace-at-any-price elements, may conceivably cave in as weeks of slow-motion talks turn into months. The possibility, we may be sure, is not discounted by the enemy.

As to the substance of negotiations, Bobby Kennedy favors a major role for the National Liberation Front, which is to say the Viet Cong, in "self-determing" the future of South Viet Nam. Sen. Eugene McCarthy has been more explicit, propagating a coalition followed by a phased withdrawal of American forces.

In effect these aspirants for the presidency are saying to Hanoi: "If Johnson won't give you the reward for aggression that you seek, you'll get it when I am in the White House." The Communist genius for temporizing is notorious. In Korea they stretched out the negotiations for two years, meanwhile imposing on us twice as many casualties as we sustained before the talks started.

Why should they settle for less when there is a chance, come next January, that the obdurate Johnson may be succeeded by a man committed to coalition?

Communist confidence is fed, too, by silly admonitions to the government to steer clear of advice from its military experts. This warning has been issued, for instance, by Sen. Jacob Javits. It seems both illogical and mischievous in the light of the predictable Communist escalation of military action not only in Viet Nam but throughout eastern Asia, as prelude to the beginning of a beginning of negotiations.

North Viet Nam has unleased another offensive against Saigon and other cities. It has stepped up its military action in Laos and Thailand. Meanwhile, Red China has increased its flow of supplies to dissident forces in northwest India. To ask the American government to downgrade its military advisers, under these circumstances, seems a recipe for turning the Viet Nam war into a greater war throughout East Asia.

The credibility of American power is today at low ebb. For Hanoi and its sponsors, Soviet Russia and China, the proceedings in Paris are far more than negotiation about Viet Nam and Southeast Asia. They are a test of American will that will determine Communist strategy in "wars of liberation" all over the globe.

Rarely before in our nation's history have the stakes been higher than in Paris today, the penalties for weak nerves more terrifying. The simple truth is that pressures for appeasement here at home will harden Hanoi and its backers.

Those Americans who erode their country's determination, however self-righteous their alibis, may make a tragic mockery of the sacrifices of American life and blood in Viet Nam.

(Copyright 1968,
North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.)

(ADVERTISEMENT)

Develop A Powerful Memory?

A noted publisher in Chicago reports there is a simple technique for acquiring a powerful memory which can pay you real dividends in both business and social advancement and works like magic to give you added poise, necessary self-confidence and greater popularity.

According to this publisher, many people do not realize how much they could influence others simply by remembering accurately everything they see, hear, or read. Whether in business, at social functions or even in casual conversations with new acquaintances, there are ways in which you can dominate each situation by your ability to remember.

To acquaint the readers of this publication with the easy-to-follow rules for developing skill in remembering anything you choose to remember, the publishers have printed full details of their self-training method in a new booklet, "Adventures in Memory," which will be mailed free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. Send your name, address, and zip code to: **Memory Studies, 835 Diversey Parkway, Dept. 531-015, Chicago, Ill. 60614.** A postcard will do.

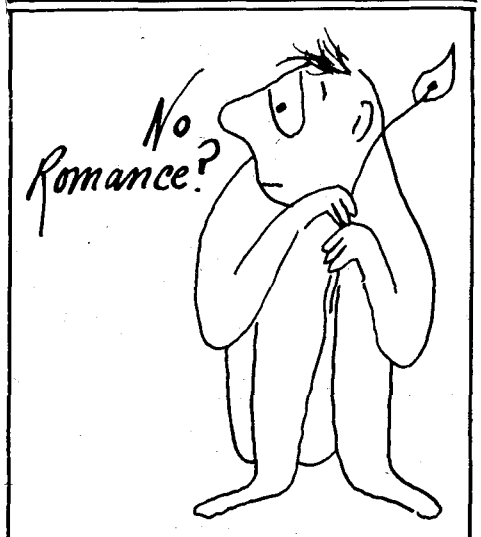
Authors!

Your book can be published, promoted, distributed by successful, reliable company. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly, religious and even controversial manuscripts welcomed. For Free Booklet write Vantage Press, Dept. P.N., 120 W. 31 St., New York 1.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS
and tell them you read their message
in HUMAN EVENTS.

HANDWRITING ON THE WALL
The book that dares tell the truth! It exposes corruption, waste and an internal enemy. It also offers a solution to the 1968 elections.
330 pages. Regular price $4.95. For a limited time $2.00. Order today and receive 2 other books free.
Sun Publishing Company,
P.O. Box 8395, Columbus, Ohio 43201

REMEMBER
THE PUEBLO
THIS PATRIOTIC RUBBER STAMP, POSTPAID $1.00 EACH, 3 FOR $2.00
ALLSTATE RUBBER STAMP CO.
P. O. BOX 228-C
LA PUENTE, CALIF. 91747



Are you tired of the drabness & sameness of things? The little boxes, the conformity, & everybody has what everybody else has?

We might be able to add a soupcon of difference & romance to it all. If you are not yet our customer (unlikely, but possible!) do send for our color-full '68 catalog filled with the most unusual & beautiful gifts, leather goods, opulent optics, gastronomic gear, toys, tools, etc. ever assembled. Most of them ours exclusively—not available anywhere else.

Help stamp out conformity. *Clip this ad & mail to us (with your name & address & zip) and $1 bill (no checks please they drive our bankers mad!) We'll rush you a catalog plus $2 Merchandise Certificate* you can credit to your first purchase. Every month or so, we'll send you an offer for something new & exciting that can be gotten only directly from us. An unusual proposition? Perhaps . . . but Haverhill's is unusual. You'll see.

584 Washington, San Francisco 94111 **haverhill's**
HE-0525

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mind Congress, Mr. President, Reagan Told the President

On May 3 President Johnson demanded that Congress "stand up like men . . . be responsible and even in an election year . . . do what ought to be done for their country. . . . Pass a tax bill without any ands, buts or ors. . . . But don't hold up a tax bill until you can blackmail someone into getting your own personal viewpoint over" on reducing government expenditures.

If congressional leaders had had the courage to reply in kind, their retort might have run like this:

"An annual increase of $10 billion more in taxes, on top of the greatest tax burden the American people have ever carried, is not only not needed at this time, but would further undermine incentives and discourage production, employment and growth. Even if a $10-billion increase in taxes and a $4-billion reduction in expenditures were achieved for fiscal 1969, it would not halt inflation and it would not balance the budget, but still leave a deficit of $3 to $5 billion.

"Moreover, in view of your whole past record, we doubt that any economics you agree to will be conscientiously carried out. In fact, we would probably soon find ourselves faced with demands for supplemental appropriations that would nullify everything that was cut. The tax increase would remain in effect not merely for one year, as you now promise, but probably for many.

"The only course today that would remove inflationary fears and restore confidence in the dollar would be to balance the 1969 budget completely. This ought to be done wholly by cutting present profligate non-defense spending. This would mean a cut of at least $17 billion from present 1969 estimates.

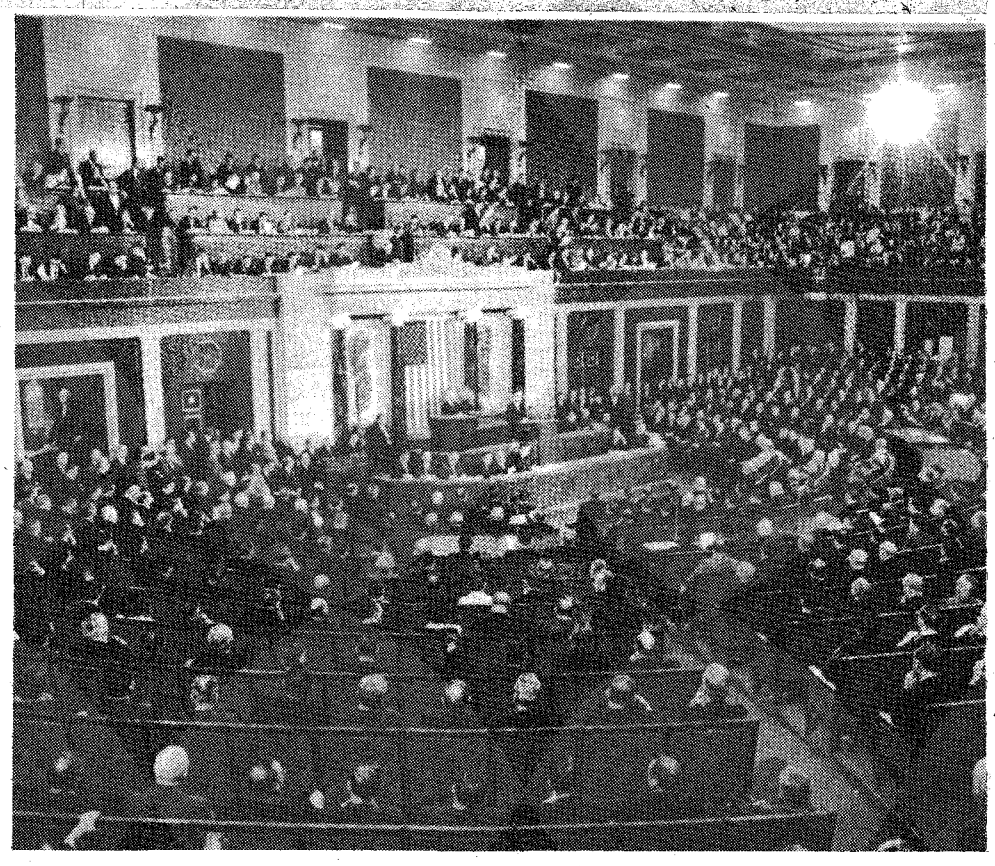
"Your repeated pretense that a tax increase is needed wholly because of the increased costs of the war in Viet Nam flies in the face of the record. No matter with what year out of the last 10 we make our comparisons, the increase in non-defense spending has been enormously greater than the increase in defense spending.

"The present estimated increase in non-defense spending alone in 1969 over such spending in 1967 is $18 billion. Almost the whole spending cut required could come out of this two-year increase. Estimated non-defense spending alone in 1969 is $41.3 billion greater than such spending in 1964. It is $78.1 billion greater than non-defense spending in 1958.

"If we were to retort in your own phrases, we would tell you to 'stand up like a man' and make these cuts, and not 'blackmail' us into 'getting your own personal viewpoint over' by raising taxes another $10 billion.

"You could make these cuts without congressional help, merely by refusing to spend all you have been authorized to spend. Or you could ask for repeal of some of the extravagant welfare legislation you yourself demanded.

"However, instead of reciprocating your own charges of bad faith, which would not be helpful, we prefer to assume that there are honest differences of opinion between us. In the interests of action we therefore suggest that we compromise by splitting the difference. We are willing to raise 1969 taxes by $10 billion if you will agree to reduce 1969 expenditures by $10 billion."



But Chairman Wilbur D. Mills, in view of the prior action of the Senate, doubtlessly decided that to accept the Administration's 10 per cent income tax surcharge, in exchange for a $6-billion cutback in planned 1969 non-defense spending, was the best compromise he could hold out for.

This compromise of a compromise will not balance the budget. It will not assure a halt to inflation. It will not be enough to restore confidence in the dollar. But it will, of course, once more raise taxes.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

The Ripon Society Strikes Again

'Galloping Reaganism' among liberals' new targets

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

It's a rare day when somebody doesn't write a Viet Nam war column based on "captured enemy documents." The same opportunity for a political column is offered regularly when Ripon Society sends its pamphlet—called the *Ripon Forum*—around to Washington correspondents.

This is an enemy "document," all right, in that it is subversive to the Republican party, which it purports to uphold. Therefore, if used with caution, the *Ripon Forum* is dandy source material from the camp of the insurgents.

It is propaganda which the insurgent leaders hope their troops will believe. And it is red-herring material by which the insurgent leadership hopes to confuse the Establishment forces of the GOP and the two-party system. The *Ripon Forum* cannot be taken literally. It has to be interpreted.

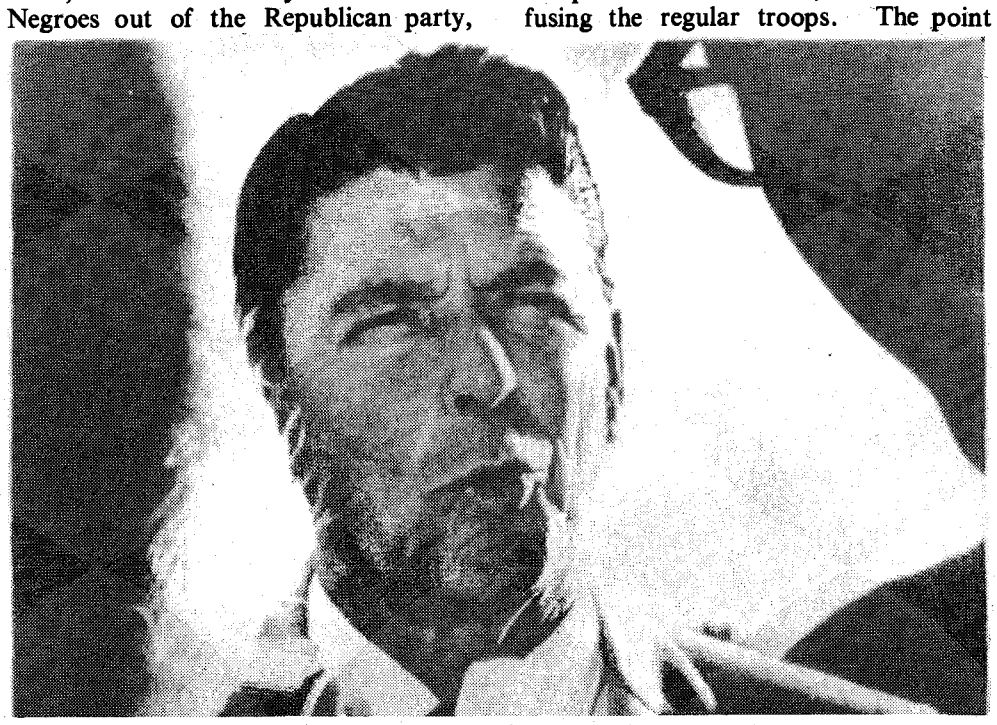
For example, the heavy humor of the editorial page tells us that, short of a candidate named "Nixefeller," the GOP would profit by using a combination of the leading Republican organizations. Richard Nixon is presented as having all the petty devices of gaining crowd-applause and collecting delegates, whereas Nelson Rockefeller is pictured as having the entourage "designed to govern."

You see what the crafty Ripon Society is trying to implant—that Dick Nixon is little better than a pick-pocket mountebank, and Nelson Rockefeller is a gifted, high-minded statesman. Ergo, the GOP ought to choose Rockefeller for President, and reduce Nixon to campaign manager.

In a dead serious mood, the editorial page proposes that the Republican National Committee apologize to Dr. King's memory for something that happened in New Jersey in 1964.

The editorial page also castigates the GOP National Committee for not insuring that "only integrated delegations" may attend the GOP convention. Then, in another clumsy move to drive Negroes out of the Republican party, the *Forum* editorialists allege that Nixon didn't dare attend Dr. King's funeral before taking the precaution "to clear the trip with John Grenier . . . architect of Goldwater's disastrous Southern Strategy." Ergo, all decent Republicans should scorn their national committee and despise Nixon.

Then there is the lead-off article of the May issue under the title of "Galloping Reaganism." This piece serves admirably to show the double purpose of propagandizing the anti-party troops within the GOP, and of confusing the regular troops. The point that anyone might find in this article is that Ronald Reagan, and not Nelson Rockefeller, is the villain who is fixing to "buy" the Republican nomination.



California's Gov. Reagan tells newsmen he is "gratified" at his 22 per cent showing in the Nebraska primary. Columnist Alexander notes the liberal Ripon Society is starting to attack Reagan.

You see, there's Henry Salvatori, "millionaire conservative oilman," a Reagan "architect," who is going to purchase "avalanches" of TV time. By this nefarious scheme, the former movie actor will be bank-rolled to snatch the nomination away from the flat pocketbooks of Nixon and Rockefeller.

The Ripon Society, although it bills itself for "independent thinking within the Republican party," goes in big for all the non-Republican ideas and performances.

There is a strong plug for Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.) because he wore a Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) button in the Senate chamber after McCarthy's big win in the New Hampshire Democratic primary. Mayor John Lindsay (R.-N.Y.) gets an accolade for proposing that the multi-billion-dollar recommendations of the Gov. Otto Kerner (D.-Ill.) report on city riots be instantly turned "into laws," although this is no part of any official Republican position.

If it all sounds as if the *Ripon Forum* favors both Nixefeller and Republicrats, and no party system at all, that's no accident. That's just how captured enemy documents are meant to read.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

□□□

U.S. FASCISM—When he was promising to make every man a king by an expenditure of $2.5 billion, the late Sen. Huey P. Long (D.-La.) was asked if he thought there would ever be fascism in the United States. "Sure there will be," he snapped. "Only we'll call it anti-fascism."—Chicago *Tribune* Press Service

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Exclusive Interview With Viet Nam's President Thieu

By CHARLES W. WILEY

President Nguyen Van Thieu of the Republic of Viet Nam faces problems that would make a Solomon cry in despair.

In a long and very frank discussion in his office in Saigon, the soft-spoken Chief Executive recently outlined for me basic changes that are necessary if his battered little country is to achieve stability, while simultaneously winning a vicious war and caring for over a million refugees. Thieu doesn't have the glib, quick solutions of the demagogue politician and he asks for understanding while he tackles the job. As he points out his government has only been in office since November.

Here are some of the major points President Thieu made during our interview:

- There will be a major Communist offensive before the U.S. election [the recent attacks on Saigon came after this interview].
- It is "impossible for the Communists to continue the war at the present intensity for more than a year."
- The bombing of the north has saved many American lives and cut down on Allied manpower needs.
- A coalition government in Viet Nam would spread the war, not stop it.
- South Vietnamese military casualties have been higher than those of the U.S.
- Graft and corruption in Viet Nam is a "severe illness."

Our discussion was a good one, much of it a brass-tacks interview where I laid it on the line and the president gave answers. Only a single presidential aide, Col. Tran Van Lam, sat in on our long talk. President Thieu speaks English well and on only a few occasions did he have to ask Col. Lam for the translation of a specific word and then because he wanted to be precise in making clear a thought.

Thieu is much more knowledgeable on a wide variety of subjects than I had expected of a career military man. He can cite many specific facts and statistics off the top of his head—on economics and marketing problems, for example.

Conservative in personality, President Thieu does not move without careful preparation. Supporters point out that he never acts recklessly and thus avoids mistakes. Critics claim that he doesn't move quickly enough on major problems, thus committing errors of omission.

Even though he is not an extrovert, the president is a friendly man, with a warm smile and a sense of humor. He is certainly no Diem, the austere, overly proud Vietnamese president assassinated in 1963, whom I interviewed at great length the year before his death.

Here are some highlights from my questioning of President Thieu:

Q. President Thieu, how do you see the future of the war?

A. The tremendous VC [Viet Cong] and NVA [North Vietnamese Army] losses during the Tet "truce" attacks, and since, make it impossible for the Communists to continue the war at the present intensity for more than a year. The infiltration rate and war potential in the north are the keys to the future.

Q. What do you expect next from the Communists?

A. Giap [commander of the North Vietnamese Army and master strategist of the Communists] will probably launch a major effort before your election to inflict a big military defeat on the U.S. forces. Or what appears to be a defeat, even if it isn't—as was the case with the Tet "truce" offensive. The present military and propaganda moves of the Communists are the first phase of this attack. The attack may come in the central highlands, at the DMZ [demilitarized zone] or there may be another round of assaults on our main cities.

Q. Mr. President, has the bombing of North Viet Nam been effective?

A. Despite the restrictions placed on the bombing of the north, it has been successful. It has forced the Communists to use manpower and resources in large amounts to offset the air raids—forces that otherwise would have been free to destroy the country while killing our people and brave soldiers, yours and mine.

Without the air attacks on the north, the Allied forces would need a great many more men to stop Communist aggression in South Viet Nam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Q. Why are you so strongly against a coalition government in Viet Nam?

A. History shows conclusively, Mr. Wiley, that the Communists consider coalition governments as only a means to gain power—a continuation of the war. Look at Laos! Even those who strongly favored the 1962 agreement are now pleading for the world to stop Communist aggressors from taking over that country.

A coalition government would not end the war. Quite the opposite. It would only spread the war throughout all Asia.

Q. President Thieu, some critics charge that Vietnamese troops are not doing their job. Others, including some in the Congress of the United States, claim that the Vietnamese refuse to defend their own country, and say that we shouldn't do their fighting for them. Why—

A. How do these critics judge a military force of over 600,000 men? We have both first-class soldiers and those who are not as good. Our elite troops are in almost constant action. An example is our airborne force. Most units were in I Corps [the far northern military district in South Viet Nam] for three months, II Corps for two months, Saigon during the attack on the city and then returned to I Corps.

Charles Wiley, at left, talks with South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu. Thieu notes that the coalition government favored by so many liberals would prolong the war, not end it.

You have been in the field with our armed forces, Mr. Wiley. You know that they are doing their duty.

During the Tet "truce" offensive we suffered twice as many KIA [Killed In Action] as our allies. Since free world forces came to help defend Viet Nam, our KIA have been much higher than all others combined. Please don't misunderstand. We are not complaining, and I don't mean to minimize the outside help that we have received, especially from the United States. We are very grateful. But we Vietnamese are deeply hurt when we read statements by Americans that we do not fight for our country.

Please ask your generals about the ARVN. They respect the ability of our soldiers—and have said so many times.

Q. Some Americans . . . resent seeing Vietnamese of military age out of uniform. Would you please comment?

A. Many Vietnamese in civilian clothes in Saigon are off-duty soldiers. Also, as you know, we are now drafting 18 and 19-year-olds.

Q. Mr. President, Americans are appalled by the graft and corruption in Viet Nam. Who is to blame, and why doesn't your government put an end to it?

A. Corruption in Viet Nam is a severe illness that has permeated every part of society, Mr. Wiley. It is a heritage from the days of French colonialism, and misrule in the early years of our republic. And decades of war. Our ravaged country, its economy insecure, has been unable to pay civil servants properly. Many cannot afford basic essentials for their families on their incomes. Born into a society where corruption is part of life, it is a very great temptation for them to join in taking graft.

Often we are told by Americans that certain province or district chiefs are the biggest culprits—and they say that we should put them in jail. But this cannot be done overnight. We are working on this problem, but it takes time to investigate and prove such charges. Sometimes the same people who charge that Viet Nam is not democratic enough, also demand that we arrest or dismiss suspected corrupt officials without proper legal procedure. We are trying to make great changes without maladjustments and injustice.

The real answer is a complete reorganization of the administration, streamlining procedures so that fewer people have the opportunity to receive graft, and setting up a modern civil service system that will make it possible to weed out corrupt and incompetent officials while the good ones are rewarded. But this takes time. In reading American history I learned that this was a major problem in your country for a hundred years. It is very difficult.

Q. From time to time there is a crackdown on black market activities in Saigon, but they always come back. Do you have any new solutions to this problem?

A. The black market is partly due to the same basic problems that cause corruption and graft. And Viet Nam is no different from other underdeveloped, war-torn nations in finding itself plagued with a black market. The newly rich—those who work for the Americans, the taxi girls and others—all contribute to this situation. U.S. goods, sometimes stolen by the truckload from the docks and convoys, pour into the black market economy. Prostitutes are often paid by your GIs with items from the PX instead of money.

We are working on this problem. The real solution is not in cracking down on the poor little shopkeepers and street peddlers who are at the bottom of the black market pyramid. It must come in better control of PX items, and better security—both by the Vietnamese and the Americans—at the waterfront, in warehouses and in the transit of goods.

About the Author

Mr. Wiley, who recently returned from his third trip to Viet Nam, is a free-lance foreign correspondent who has traveled in more than one hundred countries. His articles have appeared in many publications and he has lectured throughout the United States. Besides his appearances before local civic and political groups, he has also participated in several Viet Nam teach-ins on college campuses in support of the war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELECTION YEAR REPORTS

To Enlighten, Inform, and Persuade Your Friends

1. ROCKEFELLER
"Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant' Candidate"

Will he rule-or-ruin again? M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis **News**, brings his formidable reporting talents to bear on Gov. Rockefeller: the man and the politician, from his New Deal days to the present. Now that the governor has finally publicly announced his candidacy, this timely, in-depth profile should be read by all voters. They should learn why Rocky avoided primaries, how he stands on the issues.

2. RAFFERTY/KUCHEL
"Including an Interview with Dr. Max Rafferty"

Many consider the battle for the Republican senatorial nomination in California to be a classic conservative-liberal confrontation. Here the records of the two contenders are fully examined: Kuchel the impeccable liberal and party maverick; Rafferty the staunch conservative and loyal Republican. In a lively and candid interview Rafferty gives his views on major issues, such as education, civil disobedience, federal aid, and tells why he is running for the Senate.

3. WALLACE
"The Rise and Stand of George Wallace"

A former Goldwater aide who regularly visits the South to keep in touch with the political picture there, focuses on the phenomenon of George Wallace—his personal background, his early rise in the rough-and-tumble of back-county politics and his current candidacy—what his chances are and what effect it could have on the November elections. Plus exclusive poll of how the nation's leading conservatives feel about the Wallace candidacy.

4. OTEPKA
"The Otto Otepka Story"

The whole incredible story of security scandals in the State Department and what happened to the man who exposed them are revealed in Otepka's extraordinary defense brief. If enough voters learn this story of State Department security breakdowns, it could be an explosive campaign issue.

5. 1968 ELECTION GUIDE

Compiled by the editors from the six-part "Election Information" series which appeared in **Human Events**, this guide is a small encyclopedia of facts that will help you understand the essential historical, statistical and legal information relating to the 1968 elections, and the men who will be involved in them.

6. REAGAN
"High Marks for Reagan's First Year in Office"

Lee Edwards, author of **Reagan: A Political Biography**, reviews the Reagan record as Governor of the nation's largest state, and finds much in it to praise. Includes excerpts from unofficial "news conferences," which reflect Reagan's candid views on the issues and his astuteness in handling the press.

7. SCHLAFLY ON THE GOP
"Don't Let Them Take It Away"

Phyllis Schlafly, author of such campaign best-sellers as **A Choice Not An Echo** and **Safe-Not Sorry**, zeros in on the behind-the-scenes plans of the liberals to take control of the GOP. Her conclusion: conservatives have what it takes to win, but could lose it all if they don't take the necessary action now.

Human Events • 422 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

	1 Copy	5 Copies	50 Copies	100 Copies
Rockefeller	50¢	$1.50	$12.50	$20.00
Rafferty/ Kuchel	35¢	$1.50	$12.50	$25.00
Wallace	35¢	$1.00	$10.00	$18.00
Otepka	50¢	$1.50	$12.50	$20.00
1968 Election Guide	50¢	$1.50	$12.50	$20.00
Reagan	30¢	$1.25	$10.50	$18.00
Schlafly on the GOP	35¢	$1.50	$12.50	$25.00

Gentlemen:
I have circled the amount(s) indicating my choice of Election Year Reports and the quantity of each.
My payment of $_____ is enclosed.*
(*These special prices require payment with order. Thank you.)

My Name _____
(Please Print)
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____

Can Dissenters Really Claim Thoreau?

By FRED De ARMOND

It has become the rage of professional dissenters to cite Henry Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience as a classic article of their faith. Recently there appeared in two New York newspapers a full-page ad carrying at the top, alongside the head, a quotation from the essay and below it the names of 448 radical writers, journalists and other off-color characters such as Victor Perlo, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Allen Ginzberg. The ad carried the pledge not to pay "that 23 per cent of our current income tax which is being used to finance the war in Viet Nam."

How many of those protestors know anything about the real Henry Thoreau and his representative writings?

The Concord philosopher produced in his "Walden" one of the most original and trenchant works of American literature. The Essay on Civil Disobedience carried his passion for paradox to a wild absurdity. It relates to Thoreau's refusal to pay his taxes and his imprisonment overnight in the Concord jail to emphasize the principle of passive non-resistance. A legend has grown up around Emerson's part in that incident. The oft-repeated story is that Emerson went to get his friend out of durance and greeted him by asking, "Why are you here, Henry?" Thoreau is supposed to have answered, "Why aren't *you* here, Waldo?"

Henry Seidel Canby, the most definitive biographer of Thoreau, says that the Emerson anecdote is fiction. If any such dialogue took place, it was after the event, says Canby. Mrs. Thoreau was the first to visit her son in jail, but she either didn't have the funds or Henry forbade her to pay the fine. Henry's Aunt Maria Thoreau took the tax money and turned it over to the daughter of Jailer Sam Staples.

Although Emerson too, was an abolitionist, he did not agree with Thoreau's civil disobedience action. He told Bronson Alcott he thought the performance was "mean and skulking and in bad taste."

The essayist was in an angry mood when he wrote his "Civil Disobedience."

Angry because he had been jailed for refusing for six years to pay his poll tax and thus give even tacit support to Massachusetts and the national government for permitting slavery to exist in part of the land. Angry because of the Mexican War, the result of which would be to add another slave state to the Union. Angry because he had talked with fugitive slaves and helped some of them to escape to Canada via the Underground Railway.

While in retrospect we may agree with Thoreau's views on slavery, it is nevertheless a truism that an angry philosopher, even the recluse of Walden Pond, cannot retain his philosophic balance. In this emotional outburst Henry went completely overboard. He paraphrased a venerable maxim by asserting, "That government is best which governs not at all." A "standing army" is objectionable; so is a "standing government." A citizen should not for a moment or in the least degree resign his conscience to the law. "The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right." And further, "A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority."

Thus, a man should obey only those laws and regulations that his conscience affirms, and he is justified in passive resistance to all others.

These provocative assertions hack at the very roots of representative republican government. If embraced in practice by any considerable body of citizens it could result only in utter anarchy. A nation cannot be held together by anything as flimsy and wayward as the conflicting and continually changing consciences of millions of its citizens.

The doctrine of civil disobedience abandons the social contract as envisioned by John Locke, J.J. Rousseau, and other thinkers. It would revert back to man's primordial existence. In the state of nature, said Locke, each man was his own judge, but under civil government he relinquishes certain "natural" rights in return for the protection of the weak against the strong, for the guarantee of property rights, and for security of the commonwealth against outside aggressors.

Thoreau himself did not hold consistently to his angry civil rights theory. Twelve years after the essay was written, the people of 11 Southern states decided that they could not in conscience remain in the Union conceived in 1787. Because they were not willing to accept Abraham Lincoln, the regularly elected President of the nation, these states one by one announced their secession and defied the national authority by the ultimate resort to arms.

When this happened, Thoreau fully approved of and applauded the Lincoln Administration's resolve to hold the recalcitrant states in the Union by military force. He welcomed the war as a regenerating influence on the people, a thought expressed in a letter to an English friend.

In taking this stand in 1861 he wholly repudiated his civil disobedience theory of 1849. To cite Thoreau against the draft or paying war taxes is like quoting Patrick Henry's early caustic remarks on the new Constitution before the great Virginian had matured his view and came to accept the Constitution.

Mr. DeArmond, a former associate editor of Nation's Business, *is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in such publications as* The Freeman *as well as* Human Events.

Reuther's Bill of Wrongs

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The proposal by the United Auto Workers Union and its president, Walter P. Reuther, to establish an "economic bill of rights" is as galling as it is ambitious.

Not content with attempts to get a guaranteed annual wage from employers of the 1.4 million members of the UAW, Reuther is now trying to secure job sanctity for every worker in America with the federal government underwriting assurance.

To accomplish this, Reuther proposes an amendment to the United States Constitution, which would "establish the constitutional right of all Americans to a useful job, if they are able and willing to work, with the federal government acting as the employer of last resort."

It would guarantee all Americans an income sufficient "to support themselves and their families in decency and dignity in accordance with standards prevailing at the time, if they are unemployed."

In addition, the plan calls for creation of a national health service and a guaranteed annual income "sufficient to provide [persons] adequate living standards, if they are unable to work, either through the negative income tax program or some other appropriate means instead of the obsolete and degrading welfare system currently in effect."

The problem with this is that once such a system was implemented it would soon become nearly impossible to distinguish the "can't work" from the "won't work."

If a man is assured of an income whether he works or not, what's the point of working? As for the "degrading welfare system currently in effect," isn't what Reuther proposes just a substitution of terms?

And who would determine what was a decent and dignified income? Would it be at the top of the nation's pay scale or at the bottom?

Reuther's proposed "economic bill of rights" is wrong for a variety of other reasons.

UAW chieftain Walter Reuther, currently locked in an intramural fight with AFL-CIO head George Meany, is plumping for a guaranteed annual wage.

The Constitution does not and should not guarantee a job for every American. This document properly guarantees only that every citizen has the right freely to seek employment.

Reuther's scheme not only would tamper with individual liberty—employers conceivably could be forced to create jobs for anyone who applied—but would be an economic nightmare.

All those workers unable to be absorbed by private industry would go on the federal payroll.

The result would be a colossal welfare state which would make today's relief doles seem puny by comparison.

Like all such grandiose designs for a "perfect" world, Reuther's fails to specify who would pay for it all.

To be sure, he places the burden on the federal government, but all federal government revenues come from taxpaying citizens.

Reuther's cradle-to-the-grave brand of socialism would be the final blow that could kill free enterprise in America.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Despite Bobby's Oratory

Will Israel Be the Next Viet Nam?

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Will Israel become the next Viet Nam? And, if full-scale war breaks out again between Israel and the Arab nations, will the United States withhold support from Israel and let Soviet Russia become the open boss of the Mideast?

The line of political dissent for the presidential campaign, the line that will help shape U.S. foreign policy in the next administration, is showing up already in the candidates' speeches.

One of Vice President Humphrey's first utterances, after he announced he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, was a challenge to Bobby Kennedy's pledge of "no more Viet Nams." The vice president reminded his listeners that Bobby Kennedy, as an adviser to President John F. Kennedy, "had a lot to do" with the decision to send troops to Viet Nam. He commented that it would be "a greater tragedy to have any citizen that seeks high office in this country announce that American power would not be used in case there was Communist aggression." This would breed "not peace but chaos," he warned.

Bobby Kennedy's "no more Viet Nams" is a flight of political campaign

The UAR's Gamal Abdel Nasser is once again threatening Israel as the Soviet-leaning dictator has acquired new arms to replace his June 1967, losses.

oratory that may already have inspired the next Viet Nam in some ambitious tyrant's mind.

It may be coincidence, but it is a fact that within days of RFK's "no more Viet Nams" speech, President Gamal Abdel Nasser told the Egyptian military forces that another war with Israel was inevitable and it was their responsibility to "liquidate completely" the consequences of the war last June.

Since the remarkable Israeli victory in that six-day war, all efforts to bring lasting peace to the turbulent Middle East have failed. Only two months ago the principal parties to the Middle East dispute seemed to be ready for real peace negotiations. Tel Aviv, Amman and Cairo were reported to have agreed to a U.N. Security Council resolution of last November 22 as the basis for discussions in Cyprus, site of the 1949 armistice talks.

Then Egypt abruptly repudiated the agreement. Since then there have been renewed border incidents, raids, killings, with each side blaming the other.

Israel's complaint in the United Nations that the Security Council had failed to censure the Arabs for their refusal to respond to the peace effort was fully justified. The diplomatic back-and-forth was undermined further when the Security Council adopted a resolution asking Israel to cancel a parade through former Jordanian Jerusalem to celebrate its 20th anniversary as a sovereign nation.

What occurred thereafter has not spelled progress toward peace.

Unquestionably, choosing up sides has been going on steadily in the past 11 months. Soviet Russia has quietly moved an impressive navy into the Mediterranean, where she has established anchor points of strong support in both Algiers and Egypt. The Red naval build-up had been aided by gaining de facto naval bases in Syria, Egypt and Yemen.

France's intransigent President de Gaulle has virtually joined hands with the the Soviets against Israel. Israel has paid for 50 French Mirage jets, but France has refused to turn them over. Nobody in the United Nations or anywhere else that I can discover has even mildly criticized France for this.

Yet intelligence sources say the Soviets have built the Arab armed forces back to their former numerical strength and equipment. The Syrian army has more tanks and modern equipment now and its air force has been "significantly strengthened." Israeli military sources have said, as well, that the Soviet Union is establishing its own air force in the Mideast.

New York State Assemblyman Joseph Kottler (D.-Bklyn.) in an interview with *Jewish Press,* a respected Jewish weekly, charged that "the United States Department of State has decided not to comply with Israel's request for Phantom fighter jets." In a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Assemblyman Kottler reminded him that President Johnson, following a meeting with Israel Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, publicly stated that the question of the Phantoms was "under active and sympathetic consideration." The meeting took place last January at the LBJ ranch.

Mr. Kottler said he could not understand why Israeli requests for arms and planes always end up "under consideration" while Jordanian requests are almost always granted immediately. He added that it would take a year from the time the request was made for the planes to arrive in Israel, procedural red tape being what it is.

(Copyright 1968, King Features Synd.)

□□□

MORE GOV'T WASTE—The watchdog General Accounting Office has uncovered more governmental waste, this time in the form of needless "research" at a New York "think tank," the Hudson Institute. According to GAO, the Office of Civil Defense has shelled out nearly $2 million for reports that the agency admits are useless. Doubledome Herman Kahn, who runs the institute, was unconcerned, telling GAO probers, "The kind of speculative research [that Hudson performs] must be evaluated on a kind of 'batting average' basis and if the batting average gets too high, we believe that one should be suspicious that the work is not being imaginative and adventuresome."

Here is Your 1968 Campaign Book:

SAFE -- NOT SORRY

by

Phyllis Schlafly

A Handbook of Issues and Answers for the 1968 Elections

★ Why the politicians are afraid to discuss the big issues

★ How the poverty program helped subsidize the 1967 race riots

★ The truth about what causes crime in our cities

★ The secret reason why the TFX contract was given for the POORER plane at $415 million HIGHER cost

★ How Potomac fever corrupts men in Washington

★ Why Johnson and Humphrey are afraid to win in Viet Nam

★ Our 1968 missile gap and why your life depends on ending it

★ Why McNamara's Mini-MIRVs and "thin" ABM are just campaign gimmicks

★ The liberal passion to purge all conservative Republicans

★ What YOU must do to win for the RIGHT candidates in 1968

Other Timely Books by Phyllis Schlafly

STRIKE FROM SPACE—
With Rear Admiral Chester Ward, USN (Ret.) How your 1968 vote can secure peace in Viet Nam and save America from Soviet attack. Russian rockets hit Venus—can they destroy the U.S.?
—400,000 copies sold—

A CHOICE NOT AN ECHO—
What the New York kingmakers have done to the Republican Party—and WHY they continue to purge conservatives.
—3 million copies sold—

THE GRAVEDIGGERS—
With Rear Admiral Chester Ward, USN (Ret.). The original expose of the men who took us from WIN to NO-WIN, and now have us on the road to slow SURRENDER.
—2 million copies sold—

PERE MARQUETTE PRESS
P. O. Box 495
Alton, Illinois 62002

	AMOUNT		
Send Copies—**Safe—Not Sorry**	$.....	One Book...$1.00	20 Books.....$ 10.00
		3 Books..... 2.25	100 Books..... 30.00
Send...Copies—**Strike From Space**	$.....	10 Books... 6.00	1000 Books... 250.00
Send...Copies—**A Choice Not An Echo**	$.....	One Book...$ .75	25 Books.....$ 10.00
		3 Books..... 2.00	100 Books..... 30.00
Send...Copies—**The Gravediggers**	$.....	10 Books... 5.00	1000 Books... 200.00

Total Enclosed $_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ **ZIP**_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bridges to Human Dignity

Irresponsible promises of vast new federal handouts will bring no solution to the problems of our cities—'black capitalism' will

By RICHARD M. NIXON

(The following is the full text of an address by the former vice president which was broadcast over CBS radio, April 25.)

Every age has its special set of problems, and every problem has its special catch phrases. Today, we commonly speak of "the urban crisis." And yet the problems wrenching America today are only secondarily problems of the cities. Primarily, they are problems of the human mind and spirit.

Over and over again, we ask ourselves whether our cities can survive, whether they can remain livable, whether the races can co-exist within them, whether poverty and squalor must inevitably consume the inner city. In asking these questions, we are asking, in effect: how long can Americans ignore the race condition?

How long can we endure the discord, the prejudice, the dependency, the difficulty of bringing white and black together in peace?

The challenge confronting America today is as broad as the world and as complex as humanity itself.

It is a question of whether the pain, the injustices, the angers that stem from a century of fear and misunderstanding, now can at last be put behind us.

It is a question of whether we believe in the essential dignity of man, and if so whether we are prepared to act on that belief.

For years now, the focus of talk, of debate, of action, has been on "civil rights"—and the result has been a decade of revolution in which the *legal* structure needed to guarantee equal rights has been laid in place.

Voting rights, schools, jobs, housing, public accommodations—in all these areas, new laws have been passed, old laws struck down. Segregation, Jim Crow, "all deliberate speed," freedom rides—these terms which aroused such passion a few years ago have lost much of their relevance as basic goals have been won. The old vocabulary of the civil rights movement has become the rhetoric of the rear-view mirror.

And yet these victories have not brought peace, or satisfaction, or the fullness of freedom. Neither have the old approaches of the '30s—the government charities that feed the stomach and starve the soul.

No "More of the Same"

For too long, white America has sought to buy off the Negro—and to buy off its own sense of guilt—with ever more programs of welfare, of public housing, of payments *to* the poor, but not *for* anything except for keeping out of sight: payments that perpetuated poverty, and that kept the endless, dismal cycle of dependency spinning from generation to generation.

Our task—our challenge—is to *break* this cycle of dependency, and the time to begin is now. The way to do it is not with more of the same, but by helping bring to the ghetto the light of hope and pride and self-respect.

We have reached a point at which more of the same will only result in more of the same frustration, more of the same explosive violence, more of the same despair.

I have said recently that the fiscal crisis now confronting America is so great, and so urgent, that only by *cutting* the federal budget can we avert an economic disaster, in which the poor themselves would be caught calamitously in the undertow.

The reality of the national economic condition is such that to talk of massively increasing the budget in order to pour additional billions into the cities *this* year is a cruel delusion.

But this does *not* mean that because we cannot do more of the same, we must do nothing new. Only those who are locked into the solutions of the past, who measure progress by billions spent rather than by results achieved, will let themselves be stopped by a budgetary wall.

Activating Our Resources

In the long run, I think history will judge it fortunate that the United States was forced by economic crisis to turn to people, rather than government; forced to explore new and imaginative means of activating the real resources of America. For the plain fact of the matter is that all the money in the world wouldn't solve the problems of our cities today—whether those are thought of as problems of race, or of housing, or education, or even as problems of poverty.

We won't get at the real problems unless and until we rescue the people in the ghetto from despair and dependency.

There's no pride at the receiving end of the dole, and unless and until there is pride in the ghetto—personal pride and racial pride—we're not going to get anywhere in tackling the real problems of a real world.

Let me be very clear. As we look down this final third of the 20th Century, a period in which the population of our cities will double, the costs of both physical and human regeneration will increase greatly. No fiscal sleight-of-hand can restore and renew the cities without our having to pay the bill. And governments at all levels will have to join with private enterprise in meeting that cost.

But this is long-term.

"It costs little or no government money to set in motion many of the programs that would in fact do the most . . . to start building a firm structure of Negro economic opportunity."—Richard Nixon

Right now we face a short-term fiscal crisis, a crisis that William McChesney Martin, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, calls the worst in a generation. Unless we save the dollar, we may have nothing left to save our cities with.

At such a time, it is gross irresponsibility to promise billions of federal dollars for the cities, or even for the poor. One thing worse than not keeping a promise is making a promise that cannot be kept.

If the ghettos are to be renewed, their people must be moved by hope. But hope is a fragile thing, easily destroyed and even more easily weakened—and nowhere is it more fragile than among those whose hopes over the years have been repeatedly raised only to be cruelly dashed.

What we do *not* need now is another round of unachievable promises of unavailable federal funds.

The Bridges Needed Now

What we *do* need is imaginative enlistment of private funds, private energies, and private talents, in order to develop the opportunities that lie untapped in our own underdeveloped urban heartland.

It costs little or no *government* money to set in motion many of the programs that would in fact do the most, in a practical sense, to start building a firm structure of Negro economic opportunity.

We need new bridges between the developed and underdeveloped segments of our own society—human bridges, economic bridges, bridges of understanding and of help.

We need incentives to private industry to make acceptable the added risks of ghetto development and of training the unemployed for jobs. Helping provide these incentives *is* the proper role of government; actually doing the job is not—because industry can do it better.

This is one kind of bridge.

Another bridge is the bridge of black success—a bridge than can only be built by those Negroes who themselves have overcome, and who by their help or their example can *show* that the way to the American Dream is not barred by a sign that reads, "Whites Only."

A third bridge is the development of black capitalism. By providing technical assistance and loan guarantees, by opening new capital sources, we can help Negroes to start new businesses in the ghetto and to expand existing ones.

Educational bridges can be built, now, at little cost—bridges of tutorial help, of business training, of remedial assistance, using volunteers who in case after case have shown themselves both willing and effective.

Bridges of understanding can be built by revising the welfare rules, so that instead of providing incentives for families to break apart, they provide incentives for families to stay together; so they respect the privacy of the individual; so they provide incentives rather than penalties for supplementing welfare checks with part-time earnings.

From Welfare to Dignity

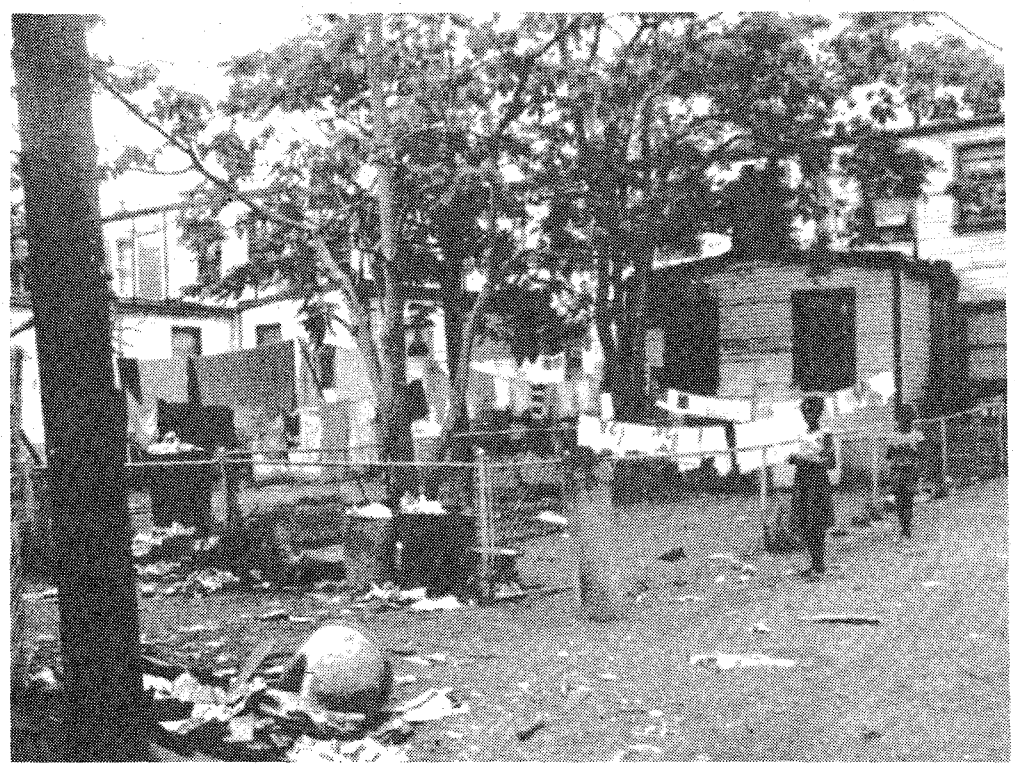
We must make welfare payments a temporary expedient, not a permanent way of life; something to be escaped from, not to. Our aim should be to restore dignity of life, not to destroy dignity—and the way welfare programs are too often administered today, their effect is to destroy it. They create a permanent caste of the dependent, a colony within a nation.

In another nationwide radio address on May 2 I spelled out a number of specific programs for building these bridges, and also others. The point about all of them is that they *can* be done *now*; they don't require billions of dollars that the government doesn't have, and they don't require waiting until billions more become available. They are not the whole answer. But they are part of the answer—and a vital part, without which no amount of money can do the job.

These are the kinds of approaches that get directly at the matter of dignity and pride and self-respect; these are the kinds of approaches that can break the shackles of dependency, just as the laws of the past decade have finally broken the shackles of bondage.

Human Rights, Property Rights

Much in this area can be done through private initiative—for example,



Presidential candidate Nixon notes that not by government handouts but through self-help in Negro slums (like this one in Washington, D.C.), ghetto residents can help break the bonds of poverty and gain new self-respect.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by groups such as John Gardner's forward-looking Urban Coalition. What they require is *commitment*, by private citizens as well as by public officials.

It's long been common practice among many to draw a distinction between "human rights" and "property rights," suggesting that the two are separate and unequal—with "property rights" second to "human rights."

But in order to *have* human rights, people need property rights—and never has this been more true than in the case of the Negro today. In order to enjoy the human rights that ought to be his, he has to acquire the property rights on which to build. What do I mean by property? Many things—but essentially, the economic power that comes from ownership, and the security and independence that come from economic power. Rights are never secure unless protected, and the best protections for a person's basic rights are those he can erect himself.

Black extremists are guaranteed headlines when they shout "burn" or "get a gun." But much of the black militant talk these days is actually in terms far closer to the doctrines of free enterprise than to those of the welfarist '30s—terms of "pride," "ownership," "private enterprise," "capital," "self-assurance," "self-respect"—the same qualities, the same characteristics, the same ideals, the same methods, that for two centuries have been at the heart of American success, and that America has been exporting to the world. What most of the militants are asking is not separation, but to be included in—not as supplicants, but as owners, as entreprenuers—to have a share of the wealth and a piece of the action.

And this is precisely what the federal central target of the new approach ought to be. It ought to be oriented toward more black ownership, for from this can flow the rest—black pride, black jobs, black opportunity and yes, black power, in the best, the constructive sense of that often misapplied term.

Black Enterprise

Philosophies, wars, power structures, all have turned historically on the basic questions of ownership—who owns the means of production, who owns land—for the simple reason that with ownership goes power, prestige, security, the right to decide and to choose.

We should *listen* to the militants—carefully, hearing not only the threats but also the programs and the promises. They have identified what it is that makes America go, and quite rightly and quite understandably they want a share of it for the black man.

For a long time we too have been talking about preservation of the private enterprise system, about enlisting private enterprise in the solution of our great social problems, about profits as the great motive power of our fantastically productive economy. What many of the black militants now are saying, in effect, is this: "We believe you, and now we want a chance to apply those same principles in our own communities."

Our reply should not be to reject this request, but to seize upon it—and to respond to it.

The ghettos of our cities will be remade—lastingly remade—when the people in them have the will, the power, the resources and the skills to remake them. They won't be remade by government billions. The sad history of urban renewal, for example, has shown how often this results in an actual decrease in the number of housing units available for the poor, with one slum torn down and another created—because the basic *conditions* of slum life haven't been changed. These conditions are what we have to get at—the human and social conditions, the conditions of the spirit—and these in turn rest in large part on our laying in place the *economic* structure that can support a rebirth of pride and individualism and independence.

Free Enterprise in the Ghetto

For the individual, a job is the essential first step—whether toward independence, toward family responsibility, or toward advancement—but even jobs have to be provided *within a framework* that establishes dignity and the pride of the black man as well as the white.

It's no longer enough that white-owned enterprises employ greater numbers of Negroes, whether as laborers or as middle-management personnel. This is needed, yes—but it has to be accompanied by an expansion of black ownership, of black capitalism. We need more black employers, more black businesses.

Integration must come—but in order for it to come on a sound and equal basis, the black community has to be built from within even as the old barriers between black and white are dismantled from without.

We have to get private enterprise into the ghetto. But at the same time we have to get the people of the ghetto into private enterprise—as workers, as managers, as owners.

The Demand for Dignity

At a time when so many things seem to be going against us in the relations between the races, let us remember the greatest thing going *for* us: the emerging pride of the black American. That pride, that demand for dignity, is the driving force that we all can build upon. The black man's pride is the white man's hope—and we must all, black and white, respond to that pride and that hope.

These past few years have been a long night of the American spirit. It's time we let in the sun.

It's time to move past the old civil rights, and to bridge the gap between freedom and dignity, between promise and fulfillment.

It's time to give a new dimension to our American concept of equal justice under law—time to give an answer of the spirit—and it's time to face our challenges not in despair, but with zest—not with a heavy heart, not bowing sullenly to duty, but as an *opportunity* for America to redeem and enrich its heritage.

Ours is a chance today to change America, and, by our example, to help America change the world.

□□□

THE FAR LEFT is already giving us samples of the hysterical propaganda we may expect in waves if Richard Nixon becomes the GOP presidential selection. Nixon, said a recent editorial in the leftist *Nation* magazine, "would be an appalling nominee. The national sin of hypocrisy, which racism has laid bare, is personified in his fork-tongued approach to every issue. His support befits the man. He has curried favor with the local and state chairmen, who by and large do not represent the rank and file. And if they did, the GOP is a minority party which Nixon could not rejuvenate or bring back to a position of influence." The *Nation*, incidentally, believes Nelson Rockefeller "could contribute to a meaningful campaign."

Thousands have already answered this ad...

HAVE YOU?

WANTED
for this crucial Election Year:
100,000 New Readers

Impossible? No!
All it takes is a little initiative from a lot of people.
If all of our subscribers gave just one 5-weeks-for-a-dollar subscription right now, HUMAN EVENTS would be influencing more than 100,000 new readers—and prospective conservative voters—tomorrow.
It's as simple and as important as that.
But it all depends on one factor.
You.
If we can't count on you—we can't count on anybody.

HELP NOW! . . . to strengthen the Conservative movement for victory in '68 by expanding the readership and influence of HUMAN EVENTS in the campaign months ahead.
START NOW! . . . by clipping the coupons below to introduce prospective Conservative voters to HUMAN EVENTS: the **indispensable** election year publication that gets results!

SEND 5-WEEKS-FOR-A-DOLLAR SUBSCRIPTIONS TO:

Your Neighbors • Relatives • Co-Workers • Businessmen • Doctors • Lawyers • Students • Teachers • Clergymen • Church Members • Local Civic Groups • Your State and Local Officials

Name _____ (Please Print)
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____
Gift Card to read " _____ "

Gentlemen:
Please enter 5-week introductory subscriptions to HUMAN EVENTS for the persons named above, at just $1 each. I understand the expenses of billing are prohibited by the low rate, so I enclose my payment of $_____.

5/25/68

Mail To: Human Events • 422 First St., S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

Please list additional subscriptions on your own stationery

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'Let 'Em Eat Cake!'

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Old-timers, of whom I'm one, follow the papers and TV news with a sense of unreality nowadays—though they realize what they read and see is only too tragically true. Consider the following items:

The first non-violent march on Memphis in behalf of the garbage collectors led to some savage rioting by black gangs. And now one of the leaders in that riot is marching on Washington under the non-violent auspices of Dr. Ralph Abernathy, who warns that America will burn unless his demands are met.

But while some Negroes demand "full integration"—whatever that is—others as vigorously oppose it. At Northwestern U., colored undergrads seize control and issue a ukase for separate but equal housing for their race. And Cassius Clay has joined the movement for separate communities for the blacks, to be subsidized by whites for 25 years, till the new "inner nation" gets on its feet.

At Columbia, white students take over and, among other things, make a shambles of President Kirk's office in the five days they rule. Their ultimatum is for the Prexy and the Dean to resign; they want a voice both in the curriculum and the administration of the university, plus some other fringe benefits. And a good part of the faculty backs them.

When, finally, the police are summoned to oust the trespassers, there arise indignant cries of "Police brutality!" And promptly Mayor Lindsay, ever responsive to human suffering, orders an investigation—and woe betide any cop (one was stomped on) who used "undue force."

I could go on, but that's a fair epitome of 100 notations I have made on the subject. And as I read the list over, the almost incredible items seem more like the plot of a musical extravaganza than actual occurrences. Come to think of it, similar goings-on prevailed in a musical comedy of three decades ago, "Let 'Em Eat Cake."

I had written the book with George S. Kaufman, and the lyrics and music were by, respectively, Ira and George Gershwin. It wasn't one of our biggest hits, incidentally, but one scene in it is at least apropos.

The locale was Union Square, which was then—and may still be—a sort of Haight-Ashbury haven for malcontents. A procession marched on with various signs: Down with Capitalism; Down with Fascism; Down with Nationalism; Down with Rheumatism; and Down with Ismism. And then came a child in a perambulator, waving a pennant reading "Down with Spinach."

Enter some pickets whose banner read "Schultz's Restaurant is Unfair to Union Labor," followed by counter-pickets whose banner announced, "Union Labor is Unfair to Schultz' Restaurant." And a Chinese lad bore a sign reading "Workers in China, Unite!" And, in case you couldn't read Chinese, below that the same slogan was printed in Yiddish.

And then the group's leader led his cohorts in a song of protest, entitled "Down with Everything That's Up." Some extracts:

"Let's tear down the House of Morgan!
Let's burn up the Roxy organ!
Down with patriotic hooey!
Down with chow mein and chop suey!
Down with music by Stravinsky!
Down with shows except by Minsky!
Down with Balzac! Down with Zola!
Down with pianists who play 'Nola'!
Down with all the Upper Classes!
Might as well include the Masses!
For happiness will fill our cup
Once Up is Down, and Down is Up!
So down with this and down with that!
And down with everything in view!
The hell with this, the hell with that!
The hell with you and you and you!"

After which, one and all started socking each other and everything else in sight, and a beautiful melee was enjoyed by all.

Now, I don't like to complain, but I think the authors of that show have a prima facie case of obvious plagiarism against all the current non-violent rioters. Anybody know a good lawyer?

(Copyright 1968, Washington Star Syndicate)

□□□

U.S. in Weak Talk Stance

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

While a large part of the world waits breathlessly upon the results of the American-Vietnamese negotiations at Panmunjom—excuse me, Paris—we shall, I think, be wise in recognizing that never before has our country negotiated in such unfavorable circumstances.

In the first place, the military situation in Viet Nam leaves a great deal to be desired. It is probably somewhat better than most peaceniks, American and foreign, admit. It is still a long way from that victory to which even stubborn Ho Chi Minh would have to yield.

Nor, thanks to the machinations of American reformers, is the political situation in South Viet Nam much better. Vice President Ky and most of his anti-Communist followers suspect that the American Administration is prepared to sell them down the Meking by accepting some sort of a dirty compromise which would allow the Viet Cong to continue striving to communize the country.

This, Ky knows, is precisely what American pinks, punks, pacifists and defeatists are ready to accept.

In this task they will presumably be assisted by certain highly placed American officials such as Ambassador George Ball. Mr. Ball just cannot see why a Communist regime "in Mali or in Brazzaville or in Burundi" (or, presumably, in Viet Nam) would represent a danger for the United Nations. Someone should remind the ambassador of Lenin's program for communism (Selected Works, Vol. 10, p. 172):

"First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, the last bastion of capitalism" which "will fall like a ripe fruit into our hands."

All over the world Communist masterminds have unleashed a marvelous offensive: provocation by North Korea; partial revival of the war in Laos; ever greater military assistance and support to the disgruntled Arab peoples of the Middle East; new efforts at sedition and subversion in Latin America; instigation and financing of "New Left" riots by students in the principal Western countries and by Negroes in the United States.

Under so many pressures, they figure, President Johnson must make vital concessions to Ho at Paris.

Unhappily, in view of this Administration's agreements with our mortal enemy not to escalate the war in Viet Nam, the Communists may be right.

(Copyright 1968, Bell-McClure Syndicate)

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING CORNER

Insertions consonant with the character of HUMAN EVENTS will be accepted at the rate of 40¢ per word plus $1 for box number if desired. The fifth in a series of identical ads will be given free as a frequency bonus. Copy accompanied by payment is required 21 days before publication date. Write: Advertising Department, HUMAN EVENTS, 422 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

SHOP BY MAIL

"Donkey Dollars" fun—spoof on Democrats. 50 for $1. Free sample! Merico, Box 5051N, Pasadena, Calif. 91107

Directory to unpopular periodicals, Right and Left. $1. McAlpine, 1304 Geddes, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104

Button: **Drop It** (spoof on "peace" symbol); button and sticker: **Reagan for President;** stickers: **Reagan 68.** 6/$1.00. Mixing O.K. Cal Conservatives, 2532 Durant, Berkeley, Calif. 94704

Win in '68! Conservatives? TRU-CON (TRUth-CONstitution) says Yes! The **first** tape service on basic conservative politics. Bi-monthly, 30 minutes, 3-3/4 i.p.s., 3-in. reel, $3. **Send now for free examination of Tape 1, "Win in '68".** No obligation. Box 331, Cupertino, Calif. 95014 **Don't delay!**

American Flag, two color 3" x 6", pressure-sensitive label. Send $1, receive 6 p.p. No COD's. Write Camp News, 49 Danemar Drive, Matawan, N.J. 07747

Reagan 68—Unique Tie Clip or Name Pin—Genuine 24-K gold letters imbedded in plastic stone (red, white, blue or black) background; mounted in hand-polished gold-plated back. Order now. $1.75 each; 3 for $5; $12.60 dozen. **Useful Articles,** Box 28217, Dallas, Tex. 75228

We Need Reagan. Effective supplies catalog plus five deluxe bumper stickers, $1. P.O. Box 333, Royal Oaks, Mich.

BOOKS

Horatio Alger Jr.'s **Train Boy.** *Strong* moral content. Send $1.35 to Buttorff Publishing Co., Box 5211, Louisville, Ky. 40205

"Jewish Joke Book"—The Jewish Answer to Mao Tse-tung's "Quotations." Banned by The New York Times. Price $2.00 plus 50¢ mailing charge. United Sales Co., P.O. Box 636, Reading, Pa. 19603

More riots! What else can happen? Read **The Overpopulated Society** by Richard B. Spurrier. $4. Exposition Press, Inc., 50 Jericho Turnpike, Jericho, N.Y. 11753

SERVICES

What Do You Think About Most? Dozen clippings on your favorite subject, $1! Research Clipping Service, Box 1665, Hyattsville, Md. 20788

General research assignments conducted by research specialist. Quick, accurate, reliable. Moderate rates. Mr. Lawrence Sork Jr., 239 South Bristol Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90049

RECORDS

New album: Conservative. The **"Please-Pass-the-Freedom"** record with grassroots state of the nation. Two 22-minute lectures. Serious politics preserved in a bit of corn. $3. John C. Otteman, Box 356, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80907

VACATIONS

Enjoy swimming, golf, seasonal sports on our scenic 250-acre estate. Informal entertainment. $14.50-$28.00 a day includes excellent meals. Family rates. AAA. Telephone 413-498-5341 or write the **Northfield Inn,** Dept. 48, East Northfield, Mass. 01360

Ten Miles At Sea, serene outer island, small quiet inn. Fourteen guests, $13 to $18 daily. June-September. The Golden Gull, Box H, Monhegan Island, Maine 04852

Indian Cave Lodge and Cottages. Informal summer resort, directly on lake, planned recreation. Swimming pool. Delicious meals. Cocktails. Supervised children's play. $80 up/week, including meals. Write for folder, Dept. 34, Lake Sunapee, N.H. 03782

Cedar Grove Hotel and Cottages on beautiful Lake Bomoseen. Vermont's foremost summer vacation value. Fine food. Fun for all ages. Conservative rates include meals. Color folder. John Quinlan, Host, Lake Bomoseen 37, Vt. 05732

LITERATURE

Fight federal tyranny—**Circulate Wolf Scripts!** "The Constitution" and 15 other Wolf Scripts for $1. Wolf Enterprises, Box 134, Madison, Wis. 53701

"If I Were a Communist Strategist"—25 copies $1.00. 100 copies $2.00. Box 406, Eagle River, Alaska 99577

The Libertarian Approach to Successful Politics—This report contains researched and tested methods for winning elections which should be studied and understood by every concerned American. 2/$1. 20/$5. Educational Campaigning Consultants, P.O. Box 45894, Los Angeles. Calif. 90045

WANTED TO BUY

Wanted: Worthless old **stock certificates** for wallpapering. Will pay nominal amount. Philip A. McDermott, 5200 Lucas-Hunt Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63121

ART

The Rise and Fall of the State and Other Works. A book of paintings and drawings by R. D. Murray, satirical in nature. Price $10. Galerie des Champignons, Box 3007, Youngstown, Ohio 44511. Ohio residents add 4% tax.

MISCELLANEOUS

Earn Political "Pin" Money. Send for Human Events' Local Representative's Kit and sell subscriptions to friends and associates. No cost or obligation.

Topical Indexes to **Human Events** for 1966 and 1967. 25¢ per year.

Bound Volumes of **Human Events.** Limited supply of 1965, 1966 and 1967 still available. $20.00 per volume or 3 years for $50.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Labor Dep't vs. Congress

By REP. JOEL BROYHILL (R.-Va.)

I would like to draw attention to another act of stupidity on the part of the executive branch of our government.

The U.S. Department of Labor is now conducting an investigation of "discrimination" in the staff-hiring practices of individual members of Congress.

As of May 1, three investigators have been examining all 1968 vacancy notices filed by members with the branch office of the U.S. Employment Service located in room 1016, Longworth House Office Building. A list is being compiled for a news expose of all members who listed requirements for their vacancies considered—by the Department of Labor—to be unfair.

My name is on the list because I requested a female secretary. This is discrimination by sex.

The vice president's name is on the list, because he asked that any applicant referred be a "Humphrey backer." That is considered political discrimination.

It is obvious that the Department of Labor is not qualified in the field of legislative employment. There has been considerable support for the establishment of a central personnel assistance office in the House of Representatives. I think it is time we took action. . . .

The current investigation arises because the House and Senate have provided space in the Capitol buildings for branch offices of the U.S. Employment Service for the District of Columbia. These branch offices provide a service only to members of Congress in interviewing and, upon request, referring applicants to congressional offices in accordance with the qualifications listed for the vacancy. . . .

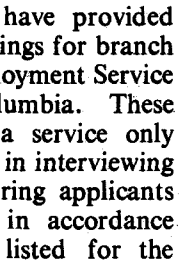
The investigation is being conducted at the direction of Arthur A. Chapin, special assistant for equal opportunity in manpower programs. Evidently Mr. Chapin believes a congressman should hire an equal number of Democrats and Republicans for his personal staff and that we should also hire a proportionate number of those just out of high school and those just under the age of 70 to show that age is not a factor.

Of course the Department of Labor is also interested in the question of race. If the law condoned it I am sure the Department of Labor would also investigate our discriminatory practices on the questions of intelligence level, spelling ability, typing and shorthand skills, and mini-skirts.

Waste in Space

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

We desire to make sound and steady progress in space exploration, to land a man on the moon, and to achieve a position of leadership. At the same time, we must make certain tax dollars are not wasted, and we believe there is waste in the space program, places where reductions can be made without hindering the program. An example would be in the administrative costs. In the 10-year period between 1959 and 1969 annual administrative operations costs have risen from $85 million to the requested level of $648.2 million. In this 10-year period the NASA workforce increased from 9,235 to 34,909, or 278 per cent.



The federal government is notorious for overstaffing, inefficiency and high administrative costs. It appears to us that NASA is no exception. In this area alone around $45 million could be cut. The Armed Services Committee is to be credited for a reduction of $153 million under the Administration's request of $4.3 billion. On the floor of the House an additional cut of $186 million was made. From our point of view still further reductions could be made and still achieve our objective.

Blueprint for Survival

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N.Y.)

Chaos is not freedom; you're not free if you live in fear, whether it's fear of the government or fear of the government's inability to protect you from someone outside the rules of our system. And the best laws in the world are useless if not enforced. Our society is based on equal and just enforcement of the law. This provides the best assurance of the greatest protection for everyone. This may not sound sufficiently dramatic or understanding, but it is our best blueprint for survival.

Fiscal Responsibility

By REP. EARLE CABELL (D.-Tex.)

There's little question in Congress as to the solution for all of the financial ills that beset us and that is good, old-fashioned fiscal responsibility. It is even more necessary today when our annual budget deficit threatens to reach $20 billion than it was only a few years ago when the deficit was a fraction of that figure.

The hope has always been that some miracle might end the fighting in Viet Nam and free for domestic use the current $27 billion per year we are spending there.

But even if we do find a door open to the conference table, history tells us reductions in war spending do not follow so quickly. While President Johnson has curtailed bombing of North Viet Nam, he has increased our Saigon troop commitments, has activated further Reserves at home, and has mapped out a bigger draft . . . all increasingly expensive.

The memory of two years of negotiations with the North Koreans at Panmunjom in which our losses of men and material were not diminished remains a bitter one, and there are no assurances we'll fare any better with Ho Chi Minh.

Depression Was Nothing

By REP. DAN KUYKENDALL (R.-Tenn.)

In the 1929-39 Depression, 10,000 banks in the United States failed, costing people with savings $1.3 billion. But this was a small loss compared to what inflation cost in 1966. Rising prices brought on by heavy federal spending robbed peoples' savings of $11 billion, nearly 10 times as much in one year as the total loss during the Depression. With the cost of living up another 4 per cent in March, the American people will lose more billions.

Nuclear Subs Needed

By REP. CRAIG HOSMER (R.-Calif.)

The size of our nuclear submarine fleet was determined several years ago when world conditions were vastly different from today. Yet the Pentagon is stubbornly clinging to a 'do-nothing' policy regarding new and improved nuclear submarines. The Pentagon also objected to building our first nuclear submarine—the *U.S.S. Nautilus*. It was up to Congress, through the leadership of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to see that this great ship was built.

I think that Congress is again going to have to take the initiative to see that our submarine force remains the strongest in the world, and that means building new nuclear-powered submarines.

LBJ's Austerity Myth

By REP. HOWARD ROBISON (R.-N.Y.)

About a month ago, when Lyndon Johnson withdrew from the race for the presidency, he went out, it seems to me, to Minneapolis and made a speech in which he said—and I'm quoting him now—"Americans must join in a program of national austerity to ensure that our economy will prosper and that our fiscal position will be sound." And then he said—listen to these remarks—"If I can get the help of Congress and if it is their will, we shall make reductions in that budget."

Drug Cost Deduction

By REP. JOSEPH McDADE (R.-Pa.)

It seems to me that we bear a moral obligation to see that the retirement pensions received by our older citizens will be worth the money they invest in them over the course of their working years. That means that we must control inflation; and to control inflation, we are going to have to modify the huge spending which has produced huge deficits. Proclamations will never substitute for prudence. Better and wiser budgets are what we need, and need right now.

I would point out another item which needs change. Prior to 1967 every person over the age of 65 could claim tax deductions for medical expenses and the cost of drugs. The Administration wiped out this right in the Social Security Amendments of 1967. This has proven to be a tremendous hardship to many older people, because out-of-hospital drug costs form an important part of their budget; and they are unable to claim reimbursement under Medicare. This deduction should be put back into the law.

House Blocks HUD Fund Cutback, 216-173

Following is the 216-to-173 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on May 8 rejected a motion offered by Rep. Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio) placing a ceiling of $15.5 billion on total expenditures during fiscal 1969 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and related agencies. Included in the appropriations bill are the controversial demonstration cities and rent supplement funds as well as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Since the motion offered by Rep. Bow was a motion to recommit the bill, a "nay" vote supports the Administration position. The House then passed the bill by a 353-to-37 rollcall vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 32

Abbitt, Abernethy, Bennett, Brinkley, Colmer, Davis (Ga.), Downing, Flynt, Fountain, Gathings, Griffin, Haley, Henderson, Hull, Ichord, Jarman, Jones (N.C.), Lennon, Marsh, Mills, Montgomery, O'Neal (Ga.), Ottinger, Randall, Rarick, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Stuckey, Taylor, Tuck, Whitener, Whitten

REPUBLICANS FOR: 141

Andrews (N.D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Bates, Battin, Belcher, Berry, Betts, Biester, Blackburn, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Conable, Cowger, Cramer, Curtis, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Dole, Duncan, Erlenborn, Eshleman, Findley, Fino, Ford, Gerald, Gardner, Goodell, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gurney, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Harsha, Heckler (Mass.), Hosmer, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King (N.Y.), Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lloyd, Lukens, McClory, McCloskey, McClure, McEwen, Mailliard, Martin, Mathias (Calif.), May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Mize, Morton, Myers, Nelsen, Pelly, Pettis, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quie, Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Robison, Roth, Roudebush, Rumsfeld, Sandman, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Schwengel, Scott, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N.Y.), Smith (Okla.), Snyder, Springer, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Utt, Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Wiggins, Williams (Pa.), Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 186

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Annunzio, Ashley, Aspinall, Baring, Barrett, Bingham, Blanton, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burleson, Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Cabell, Carey, Casey, Celler, Clark, Cohelan, Conyers, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dow, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Edwards (La.), Evans (Colo.), Everett, Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Fisher, Flood, Foley, Ford, William, Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Galifianakis, Gallagher, Giaimo, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hebert, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Howard, Hungate, Irwin, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Karth, Kastenmeier, Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kluczynski, Kornegay, Kyros, Leggett, Long (La.), Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, McMillan, Macdonald (Mass.), Machen, Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Minish, Mink, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Morris (N.M.), Moss, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Mich.), O'Neill (Mass.), Passman, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Podell, Pool, Price (Ill.), Pryor, Rees, Resnick, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Rivers, Roberts, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Shipley, Sikes, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stratton, Stubblefield, Sullivan, Teague (Tex.), Tenzer, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waggonner, Waldie, Walker, White, Willis, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 30

Ayres, Bell, Broomfield, Button, Conte, Corbett, Dwyer, Esch, Fulton (Pa.), Gude, Halpern, Harvey, Horton, Kupferman, McCulloch, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), Minshall, Mosher, O'Konski, Pirnie, Railsback, Reid (N.Y.), Riegle, Ruppe, Schweiker, Stafford, Stanton, Vander Jagt, Whalen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LBJ's Commission blames whites for race riots. This new book places the blame where it belongs

— on the President's own Poverty Program!

POVERTY IS WHERE THE MONEY IS

by Shirley Scheibla, Associate Editor and Washington Correspondent of *Barron's*

A SELECTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

From the floor of Congress:

"Mr. Shriver a few weeks ago was asked how many people had been relieved from poverty by the program. His answer was about 50,000. This, gentlemen, is about the number of people employed by the government, directly or indirectly, under this great political fiesta."

— Rep. Glenn Andrews (R., Ala.)

NOBODY REALLY KNOWS how much America spends annually to relieve or eradicate poverty. Estimates run as high as $35 billion on the federal level alone, and many billions more by state and local governments, by private groups and individuals.

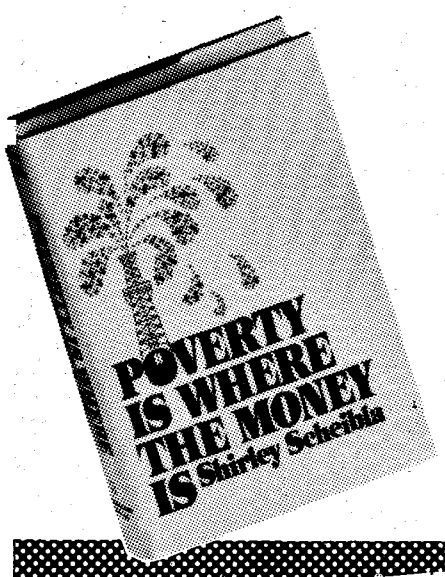
With all this, the federal program is a failure and a scandal. Shirley Scheibla, in this headline-making book (parts of which have, even before publication, been reprinted eight times in the *Congressional Record*) ticks off the reasons why: 1. The poverty program fosters socialism, undermines free enterprise. 2. It is *not* helping the poor. 3. It is choking the American taxpayer with costly boondoggles. 4. It has been infiltrated by Communists and other subversives. 5. It is fostering proletarian violence and revolution. 6. It is a Democrat vote-buying scheme that makes the old Hopkins-Roosevelt WPA look like penny-pinching.

Significantly, the program was sparked by Socialist Michael Harrington's book, *The Other America*. Harrington's "modest" family budget included money for golf, piano lessons, airline tickets, power lawnmowers, phonograph records, air conditioners and other bare necessities. (Do you suddenly feel poor?)

Walter Heller followed up with a memo. Jack Kennedy speed-read it, and we were off on a "war" that already has damaged the dollar and helped send cities up in smoke . . . a real war, but not on poverty. Whatever the political or even altruistic intentions of its founders, Mrs. Scheibla makes clear that the cadres in the povery war are now taking aim at the vital organs of America. Bureaucratic bungling is bad enough, but when bureaucratic bungling plays into the hands of revolutionaries, we are in a national crisis.

A few specifics from Mrs. Scheibla's detailed indictment:

$13 million for New York's Mobilization for Youth. Subversives preach revolt, stage rent strikes, aid school boycotts. Rundown of Reds in MFY: some old names, some new ones. ▪ No Job Corps criminal, regardless of his offense, can be let go without Washington's okay. Helpless residents of Edison, New Jersey beg to have Job Corps scourge removed from their town. Washington ignores them. ▪ How Office of Economic Opportunity finances propaganda against free enterprise. ▪ Communist-style cadres move into Community Action Program. CAP sponsors boycotts and demonstrations, one of which winds up attacking a police station. ▪ The "Happy Pappy" program: $250 a month for unemployed dads — *in a state with a labor shortage.* ▪ Upward Bound, the program that encourages dropouts with substandard IQs to think they can go to college. Course content: the daily newspaper, or anything else the "students" want. ▪ An ominous new group, the Poverty Rights Action Center. Its plans for America, and for you. ▪ Poverty workers raise tensions in Rochester, Nashville, Washington, White Plains, Durham, etc. ▪ Never talked about: *the sharp decline in poverty before government made a political football out of it.* ▪ The Republican failure. Where GOP misses the point — and maybe misses the boat — in its critique of the poverty program. ▪ Shriver's disastrous foray into sex education. ▪ How poverty war fuels race riots. Role of the Communists.



Has the Poverty War Reached the Point of No Return?

Shirley Scheibla gives no final answer, but plainly she is worried. You will be too, after you read this book and see all that she has seen. Mrs. Scheibla has been dodged by Lyndon's minions, screamed at by bureaucrats, even threatened by a poverty drone. But she also reports on a hopeful sign for the Republic.

RISK-FREE EXAMINATION

Shirley Scheibla's story — 100,000 words of it — is probably the darkest scandal in our history. In the great tradition of a reporter digging for facts, she has written what may be *the* book of Election '68. Send for your copy now; you are privileged to send it back — for any reason — within a month after delivery, and receive a full refund plus extra money to cover cost of return postage. Mail $5.95 to your bookseller or Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801.

How to get this book FREE

Would you prefer us to send you this book free? You can get a free copy by joining Arlington House's affiliated company, the Conservative Book Club. Your only obligation as a member is to accept 3 books from among the 40 to be offered by the Club over the next 15 months, after which you may resign at any time. Membership entitles you to a free subscription to the monthly Club Bulletin, plus the opportunity to buy any Club book at 20% to 75% off retail price plus shipping. If you accept the monthly selection, no need to do anything. It is shipped automatically and the Club charges your account. If you don't want the monthly selection, you merely let the Club know on the handy form always provided. If you prefer this plan, please check the appropriate box in coupon and mail today.

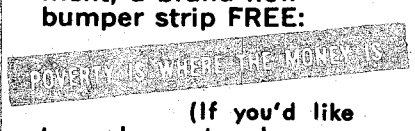
To your bookseller or

ARLINGTON HOUSE·PUBLISHERS

81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801

EXTRA FREE GIFT!

Included with your shipment, a brand new bumper strip FREE:



(If you'd like to order extra bumper strips, they're available at 5 for $1, postpaid. For quantity prices please write, attention of Mr. Thomas J. Clark.)

Gentlemen: Please send, postpaid, POVERTY IS WHERE THE MONEY IS by Shirley Scheibla, and also include my FREE bumper strip, described at left. My payment of $5.95 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 30 days for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage. (Bumper strip is mine to keep in any case.)

Name_____

Address_____

City/Zone_____ State_____

☐ Send "POVERTY" FREE and enroll me in the Conservative Book Club. I agree to buy 3 Club Selections in the next 15 months at 20% to 75% discounts plus shipping.

HE-229

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED